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The Beaver

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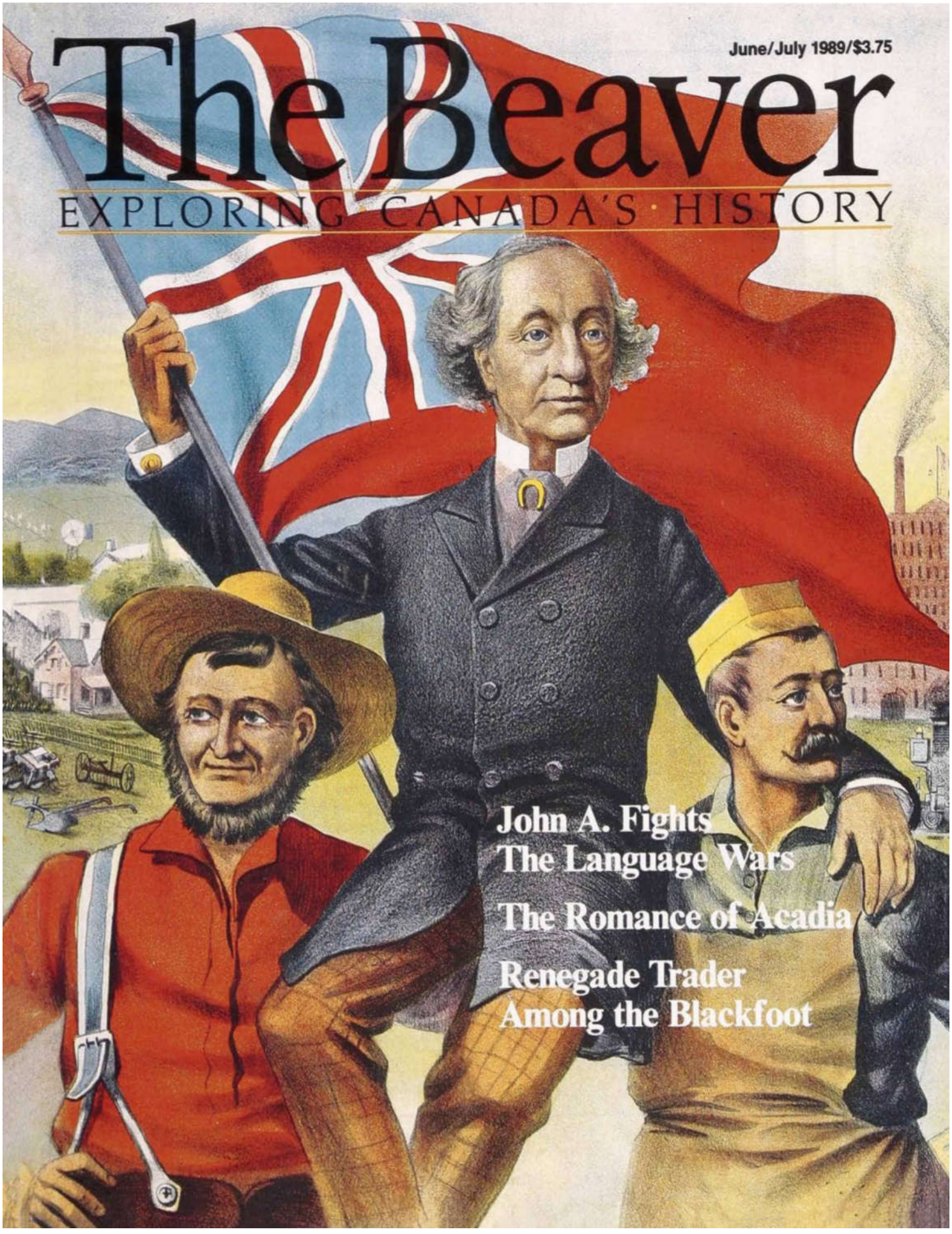
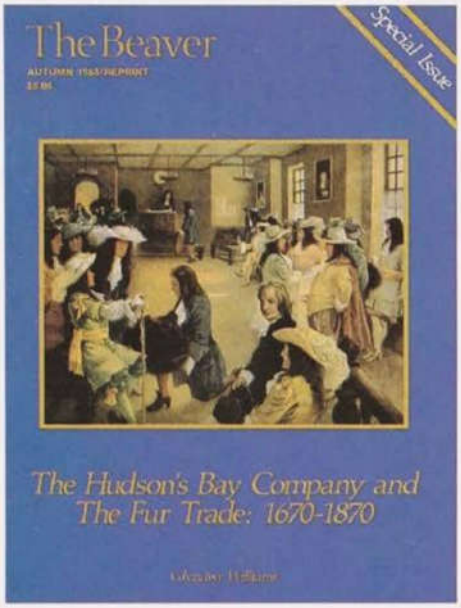


John A. Fights The Language Wars

The Romance of Acadia

Renegade Trader Among the Blackfoot



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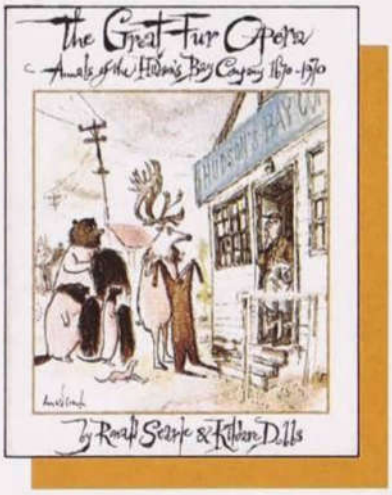

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John A. Macdonald, from a campaign poster, 1891.

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The Beaver

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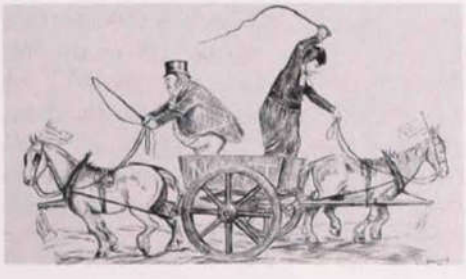


THE GREAT

Party Ranks Were Split Asunder In the Language Dispute's First Round

BY MARGARET STOBIE

"At first it did not appear to be a matter of such wonderful importance", said Louis Davies of Prince Edward Island, "but it has been so magnified by the press outside and by honourable gentlemen on both sides of the House until now it has assumed a position of national importance". Sir Richard Cartwright, member for Oxford South since 1867, said, "It is a debate which is calculated to shed considerable light on diverse dark places in our political firmament". Peter Mitchell of New Brunswick, one of the Fathers of Confederation, recalling moments of crisis in the London Conference when Confederation almost didn't happen, called it "one of the most important questions we have had before us since 1867". And Edward Blake, member for Durham West, Ontario, declared, "This, I feel, is for Canada a turning point".

It was January 1890, twenty-two years after Confederation, in the Fourth Session of the Sixth Parliament of Canada. The great artificer, Sir John A. Macdonald, was in his place, but he was old now — he had just passed his seventy-fifth birthday — and he was tired; at his left, where Sir Georges Etienne Cartier had sat, was Sir Hector Langevin, also a Father of Confederation. Across the floor was a slight, fine-boned man, Wilfrid Laurier, over twenty-five years younger than Sir John, recently chosen leader of the Liberal party and still finding his way. In the Opposition back benches, by his own choice, sat Edward Blake, who had resigned the Liberal leadership in June 1887, just after the election of the present House.

In the speech from the throne at the beginning of the session, the government had made a gesture toward one of the problems facing the House and the country in a proposal to make "certain amendments in the Acts relating to the Northwest Territories, calculated to facilitate the administration of affairs in the region". The proposal was also calculated to forestall further defiant action in the second, though bloodless, North-West "Rebellion" currently seething in a restive legislature which was demanding provincial status and responsible government. In Regina, two successive Advisory Councils had resigned in a body to protest the lieutenant-governor's refusal to give the Assembly control over federal grants to the Territories, a measure of responsible government that the Assembly had been demanding for several years. The people of the Territories, the great majority of them from Ontario, could not see that they had become less capable of managing their affairs simply because they had moved from one part of Canada to another.

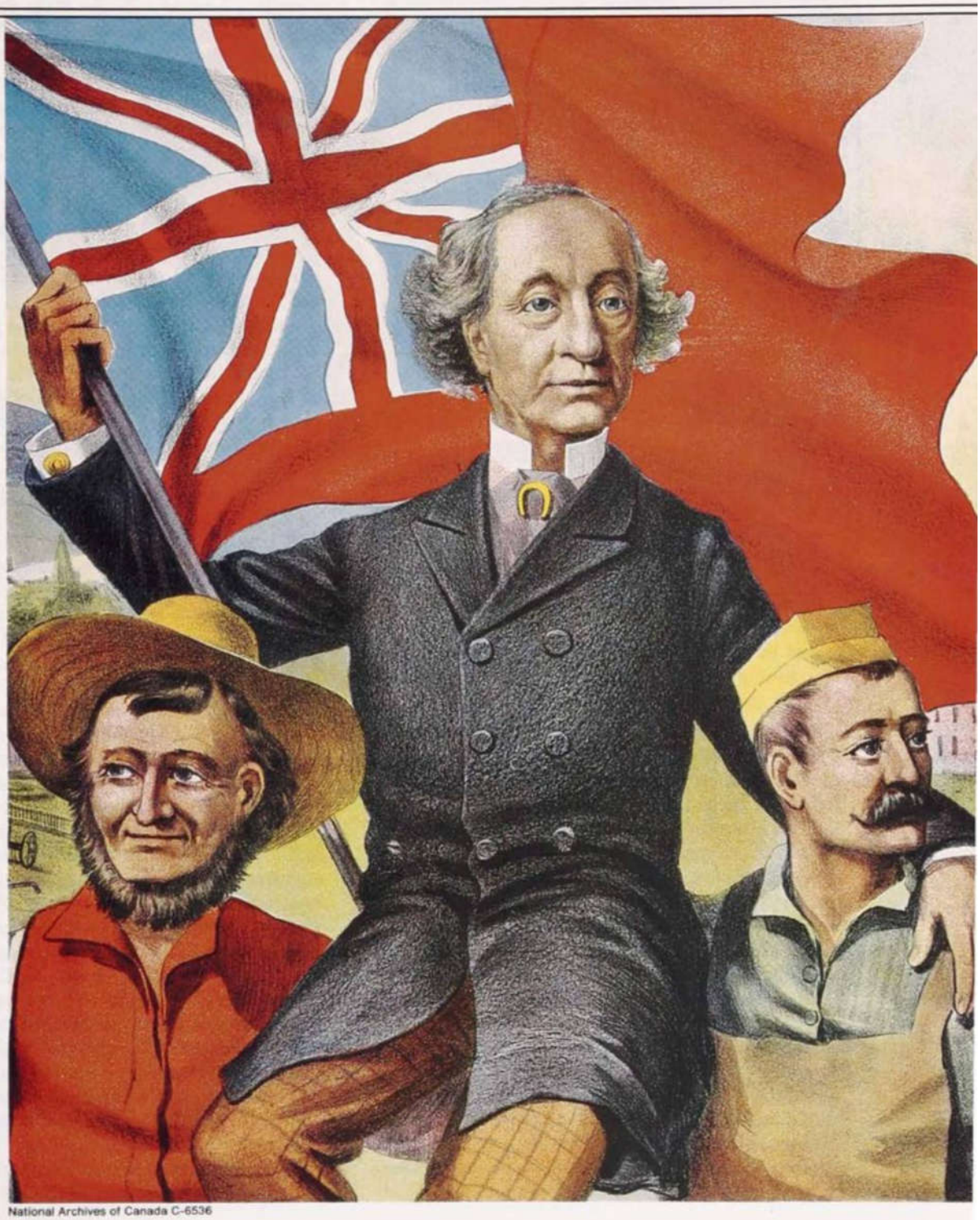
The present focus of their agitation was a petition to Parliament to have only one official language in their legislature — English. Their main argument was that the dual language system was irrelevant and expensive since not a single member of the Assembly was French-speaking. It was on this point that the government's modest intentions for placating the North-West Assembly went awry.

On 22 January, under the general proposal for amendments, D'Alton McCarthy, a former Conservative now sitting as an independent for Simcoe North, Ontario, seizing upon the North-West petition for a single language, presented Bill No. 10. The bill itself was unassuming enough, a single clause of one sentence: "Section 110 of the Revised Statutes of Canada entitled 'The North-West Territories Act', is hereby repealed".

Section 110 was the dual language clause which had been added by the Senate to the North-West Territories Act of 1877, on the action of Senator M.A. Girard of St. Boniface, Manitoba. It was an almost exact replica of Section 133 of the British North America Act, which read:

Sir John A. Macdonald was near the end of his career in 1890. He fought his last campaign (right) the following year.

DEBATE, 1890



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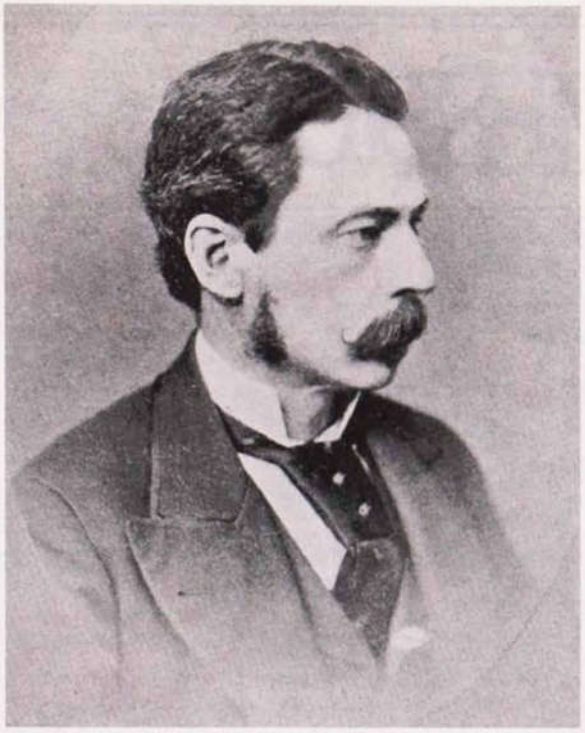

D'Alton McCarthy: Race and religion.

> Either the English or the French language may be used by any person in the debates of the Houses of Parliament of Canada and of the Houses of the Legislature of Quebec, and both these languages shall be used in the respective records and journals of these Houses, and either of those languages may be used by any person or in any pleading or process in or issuing from any Court of Canada established under this Act, and in or from all or any of the Courts of Quebec.

The insertion of Clause 110 in the North-West Territories Act, substituting the legislature of the Territories for that of Quebec, was intended to put the Territories under the same language regulations as to the legislature, publications, and provincial courts as those that applied to Quebec but to none of the other eastern provinces nor to British Columbia, all of which had been Crown Colonies with their own constitution when they joined Confederation, and none of which had a dual language system. There had been a growing feeling, especially in Ontario, that the senate's intervention had been unwise, a feeling that had intensified as the English-speaking population of the Territories increased.

If McCarthy had been content with the plain enacting clause, his bill might have passed with little demur. But he was not content. He prefaced it with another sentence, an explosive one, which came to be elevated to the status of "preamble" in the discussions:

> Whereas it is expedient in the interests of the national comity of the Dominion that there should be community of language among the people of Canada, and that the enactments in The North-West Territories Acts, allowing the use of the French language should be expunged therefrom . . .

Even this outright rejection of the Canadian dual language system was not enough for McCarthy. As he introduced his bill for First Reading, he made a lengthy speech appealing to history and to science, citing such scholars as Professor Freeman, Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford, and Professor Müller, German philologist and author of *The Science of Language,* in support of his view that a common language makes for the unity, harmony, and prosperity of a nation. Finally, he attacked the dual language system as a divisive element in the well-being of Canada. He had gone far beyond the limited concern of language in the North-West Assembly.

Taken together, preamble, bill, and presentation were bound to arouse dismay and anger on both sides of the House and in both languages, and to ensure the defeat of the bill, so that many wondered what McCarthy's purpose was. Yet it was consistent with his action of the year before when he split with his party over the Jesuit Estates Act.

The Act was one passed by the Quebec legislature to settle a long-standing, awkward property dispute. The King of France had given lands to the Jesuit order for educational purposes; the pope suppressed the order; at the time of the cession the ownerless lands passed to the British Crown who turned them over to Canada, and they became vested partly in the government of Canada and partly in the legislature of Quebec. A later pope reinstated the order, and the Church claimed the lands under Quebec's canon law. Eventually Premier Honoré Mercier obtained a negotiated settlement of all Church claims against the estates for $400,000 in cash, to be devoted to Catholic educational purposes in the province. The preamble to the Act contained a letter from the current pope authorising the settlement.

The Act had passed the Quebec House without dissent, but when it came to Parliament, it was challenged by thirteen militant Protestants, McCarthy among them, both Liberals and Conservatives, who moved to disallow it as being outside the competence of a provincial legislature since it involved Crown lands. The thirteen were further incensed on religious grounds, that public money should be paid to the "dangerous order" of a particular sect; and on national grounds, that a foreign potentate — and of all foreign potentates, the pope — had been named in the statute and allowed to determine the disposition of Crown lands in Canada.

The thirteen were the only ones who voted for disallowance. Macdonald, who had no bigotry in him,

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Manitoba language bills attacked and defended, a cartoon from "Grip", Toronto, 18 April 1891.

upheld the action of the Quebec government as coming under provincial jurisdiction in educational concerns. It was an important decision in terms of provincial as distinct from federal rights, and it became a reference point for the 1890 language debate.

McCarthy and his cohorts were not simply fanatics, however. Within Quebec was a rigidly autocratic clergy in almost complete control of the press and claiming authority in political matters. In 1866, Wilfrid Laurier's weekly *Le Défricheur* was denounced from the pulpit; a year or so later, the printer, Joseph Guibord, was excommunicated at his death and refused burial in consecrated ground; and when his lawyer, Joseph Doutré, died in 1886, the implacable bishops refused him the rites of the Church, but over one thousand Catholics followed his coffin to the grave. The situation became a matter of concern throughout Canada.

The man who first replied to McCarthy — and he replied in French — was Alphonse LaRivière, Tory member for Provencher, Manitoba. Both he and McCarthy were conservatives but clearly far apart in point of view. LaRivière, a strong supporter of the Quebec hierarchy, had recently become editor of *Le Manitoba,* a paper run in the interests of the French language and the Church, and under the aegis of Archbishop Taché of St. Boniface. LaRivière threatened that French Canadians would now rise in defence of "a handful of Metis . . . away off yonder who cannot defend themselves".

With great misgiving Sir John A. contemplated a race-and-religion break within his own party, a break that could destroy the country. In his brief intervention he spoke of "most serious and grave questions" which McCarthy had raised, "so grave that I think we must take full time to consider what his arguments are, what they tend to, in what direction they lead, and what consequences may follow if the measure is persisted in".

Events in the three weeks between First and Second Readings were not reassuring. In the first week of February, Guillaume Amyot, a lieutenant-colonel who had commanded a corps in the 1885 rebellion, and

la Société Historique de Saint-Boniface

Bishop Grandin: Alarm in the West.

whose ancestors had come to New France in 1635, read into *Hansard* a letter of 20 November 1889, to the Quebec hierarchy from Bishop Grandin of the Roman Catholic mission at St. Albert, just north of Edmonton. The letter incensed people of the Edmonton district and particularly Frank Oliver, editor of the *Edmonton Bulletin* and a member of the Territories Assembly.

Bishop Grandin complained of "moral affliction" suffered by Catholics of the North-West following Protestant immigration, of a "war" against the Catholic minority carried on by the Dominion government in staffing the Indian department with Protestants and creating electoral divisions "in such a manner that it is impossible for us to secure representation", and by the elected representatives of the Assembly in demands for "the abolition of our language and the amendment of our school laws in order to impose upon us the so-called secular schools which are nothing but anti-Catholic schools". He complained also of the government's immigration policy: "To settle our lands there are sent men from every nation, men without faith and without religion. Mennonites are brought from a great distance, even Mormons are admitted and are seemingly held up as examples to the Blackfeet". Meanwhile, "thousands of our flock leave each year for the United States . . ." The bishop ended his letter with a plea to the Quebec Church: ". . . in the name of the French Catholic party, in the name above all of the interests of the Church in the North-West to see what you can do, and I appeal to you in the name of God, take action".

Whatever Amyot's motive in reading the letter into *Hansard*, Bishop Grandin's exaggerations and his evident bias against other religious sects together with his plea for Catholic action only confirmed the fears of those already apprehensive about Roman Catholic intentions in the Territories. It is quite possible that the bishop's letter spurred on the dramatic development in the Manitoba Legislature when, on 11 February, Premier Thomas Greenway entered the language dispute with a resolution "amending the rule of the House so that the use of the dual language will not be necessary in the transactions of the business of the House". The following day, the *Manitoba Free Press* reported that after many divisions the final vote was 27 to 6 in favour of the abolition of French as an official language. The Territories Assembly cheered. So did McCarthy.

As if in retaliation, even in the shadow of Parliament as the debate began, violence broke out across the river in Hull in a demonstration against the Salvation Army. "Hoodlums of Hull Attack Lady Evangelists on the Streets", ran a headline, and the report said, "A crowd of about 1,000 gathered to prevent Miss Wright's Mission band holding evangelistic services".

Tension was heightened by increasing animosity between the St. Jean Baptiste Society and the Loyal Orange Lodge. For the moment, however, Sir John A.'s cabinet managed to accommodate both the Grand Master of the Orange Lodge (a rather mild fellow) the Hon. Mackenzie Bowell, Minister of Customs, and the President of the St. Jean Baptiste Society, Sir Hector Langevin, Minister of Public Works. It was a tribute, no doubt, to the magic of "the old sorcerer". Otherwise there was little that was temperate or placid in the atmosphere.

The debate on McCarthy's motion for Second Reading of Bill No. 10 began on the evening of 12 February. It lasted seven days. Fifty-two of the 215 members of the House spoke, thirty of them lawyers. The array of constitutional opinion included the Hon. Joseph Chapleau, Secretary of State, Professor of Jurisprudence and International Law at Laval University in Quebec; Richard Weldon, Professor of Constitutional Law and Dean of the Law Faculty at Dalhousie in Nova Scotia; William Mulock, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Toronto and Examiner in Equity for the Upper Canada Law Society; and Edward Blake, Chancellor of the University of Toronto and well-known champion of the rights of minorities. Three who spoke — Mitchell, Langevin, and Sir John A. — were among those who had created the frame of Confederation, and they brought into the House the living presence of the original aspirations.

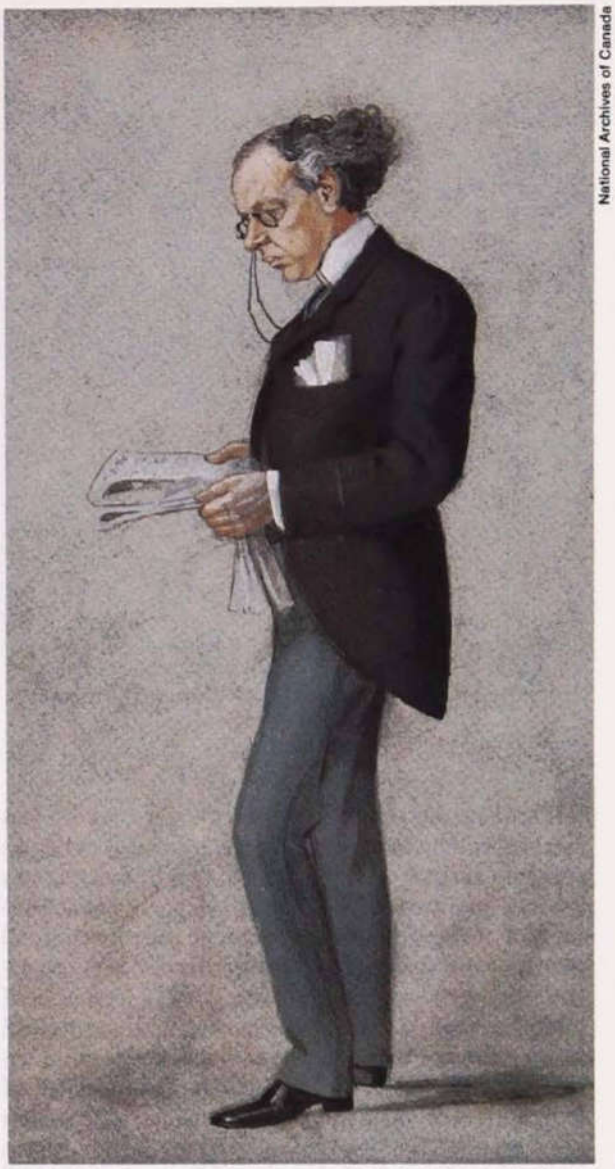
Mingled with the lawyers were officers of the militia — some ten of them — who had been on one or the other of the two expeditions to the West and so had a passing knowledge of the region. And since Parliament had granted representation to the Territories in the last election, all geographic divisions had members in the House.

Nicholas Flood Davin, member for Assiniboia West, N.W.T., an Irishman, proposed the first amendment. His contention was that the matter was a local one and should be given to the government of the Territories to decide after their next election in the spring. Davin's amendment was countered by one from Cléophas Beausoleil of Berthier, Quebec, which would negate the bill altogether and keep the *status quo*, with French as an official language in the North-West. Beausoleil claimed that it was not a local question but "a question of the gravest moment and one which concerns the whole Dominion".

The two amendments brought up a constitutional point which became of vital importance. It concerned the status of the Territories government. Both McCarthy's bill and Beausoleil's amendment postulated the power of the central government to legislate the case since the Territories did not have provincial status. On the other hand, Robert White of Cardwell, Ontario supported Davin's amendment on the grounds of its recognition of the federal system of the government of Canada, and of provincial rights. There was the paradox, then, of Davin the Conservative arguing for provincial rights and Beausoleil the Liberal arguing for the power of the central government.

Beausoleil was the only Liberal to speak that night, but although this was his first term in Parliament, he carried unusual weight not only as a prominent Quebec nationalist, but also as the law partner of Quebec's premier, Honoré Mercier. Robert White was also from Quebec — he had been educated at McGill and had been editor of the *Montreal Gazette* for a number of years — but with a different political background from Beausoleil. He read from the journals of the Legislative Assembly of 1844-45, Papineau's address to the queen on the restoration of the French language in that House, which was composed of an equal number of representatives from Upper and Lower Canada. The address received unanimous acceptance, "every member rising, and with a good deal of clapping and cheering". At the same time, White noted that language, being a matter of convenience as it had been in Papineau's day, was therefore a matter for local decision, and it was on that principle that he supported Davin's amendment.

McCarthy's seconder, Charles Denison of Toronto West, a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society, also added an historical note as a corrective to claims by Bishop Grandin and others that the North-West had been French territory. "As you all know, it has always been held by the Hudson's Bay Company . . . and governed by the Hudson's Bay Company by means of a Governor and a Council acting under the laws of England until it was bought from them by the Dominion Government".



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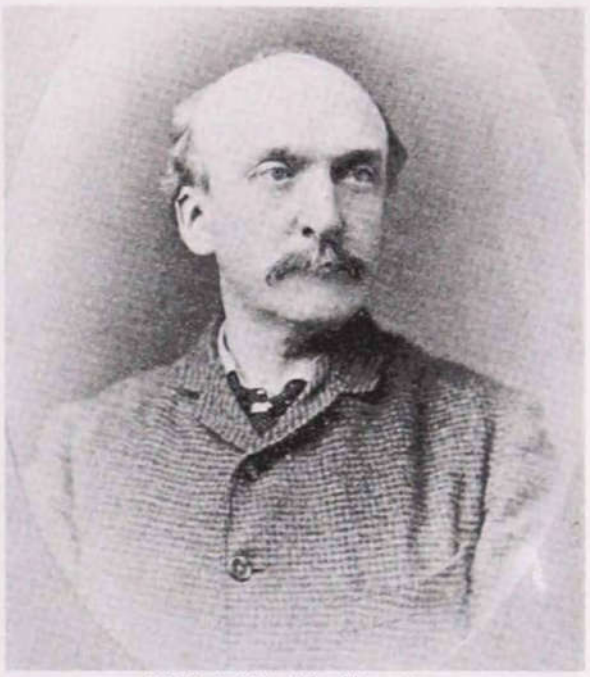
Wilfrid Laurier: drawn for "Vanity Fair", 1897, by Sir Leslie Ward.

Davin began the attack on McCarthy, and he was merciless. Using his considerable eloquence and erudition, he flayed McCarthy's attempts at scholarship by showing that he had distorted — had even misunderstood — the authorities whom he cited. But most of all, he castigated his former colleague and fellow Irishman for preaching bigotry "to ignorant and passionate ears".



N.F. Davin MP: A "local" question.

The kaleidoscopic nature of the discussions was established on this first day of the Second Reading as speakers ranged over history and the fate of nations ancient and modern — subjects of great moment in view of the shifting map of Europe where wars and treaties were making a mockery of political boundaries. Speakers appealed to the current precepts of international law and the movement that was to lead to the Hague Peace Conference and the Hague Tribunal before the end of the decade. The concept of federation was strong in the Western world as a new nation emerged from the unification of Italy and a new empire from the federation of German states. All of these developments bore on the philosophy behind the creation of Canada, a confederation, a compromise entered into willingly in which the whole was yet greater than the sum of the parts.

However, political science was not the only concern of men who had seen the miracles of the telegraph, the telephone, the railroad, electric light, and who were now looking somewhat askance at the automobile. Cross-currents of the great intellectual, scientific, and human discoveries of the century that Canada was born into were also within the chamber, and prominent among the new sciences was philology, the science of language. From early in the century it seemed to point to an all-embracing ur-culture, revealing undreamed of connections between the peoples of India and Iceland, and giving proof of a common ancestry for Sanskrit, Latin, German, and their subsequent dialects. It gave an altogether fresh perspective on the divisions of language and the myths about their virtues. It carried the corollary that language has a life of its own and cannot be ruled by governments. It was a view of prime importance to the present debate.

On 13 February 1890 newspapers carried the despatches from Winnipeg announcing that packed galleries had witnessed the passage, after lengthy debate, of Premier Greenway's action in the Manitoba Legislature to eliminate the dual language "in the transaction of the business of the House". In Ottawa, the dual language debate resumed.

William Mulock, Liberal for York North, Ontario, began the day's discussion. His appeal was to history, and his view directly opposite to McCarthy's: "As a rule every nation of any note has . . . been composed of races speaking two or more languages". Unity of language was therefore not necessary for greatness, and did not necessarily produce national unity. Attempts to make one language prevail, as in the Norman conquest of England, defeat their purpose, while with tolerance, as in Great Britain with its various official languages, the natural course of history will govern the peaceful coming and going of language habits. Mulock deplored McCarthy's "imported bitterness" as tending to destroy Confederation and to drive the French Canadians out of it. "We are sent here to save the Union, not to destroy it".

He was followed by Georges Gigault, Conservative for Rouville, P.Q., who also noted that the policy of the British Empire was not to impose a single language.

The next two speakers were a complimentary pair. John Curran, Conservative for Montreal Centre, an Irish Catholic born in Montreal, made his point by speaking in French. Honoré Robillard, Conservative for Ottawa City, whose grandfather came out from Normandy, spoke in English. He observed that different languages did not necessarily create friction. "Although I speak French and am a Roman Catholic, I can live at peace with my English and Protestant neighbor. . . . The time is past when people may hate each other for God's sake".

The two who followed were among the oldest in the House. There was the strong Scotch voice of Simon Dawson, Conservative for Algoma, Ontario, whose views were similar to Mulock's. He noted that in the British Empire of some 300 million people, not one-fifth spoke English, that therefore community of language was not necessary to the prosperity of a nation. But he concluded that French was not likely to last long in the Territories and therefore it would be wise to leave things as they were and let time decide. Sir Hector Langevin, Conservative for Three Rivers, P.Q., one of the Fathers of Confederation, also wanted the *status quo,* but without Dawson's mild complacency.

Langevin's grandfather had been Commodore of the British fleet on Lake Ontario during the American Revolutionary War, and his father had gone with his militia to defend Canada in the War of 1812, "with their old guns and their old French language". Sir Hector was incensed at the remarks of the johnny-come-lately from Ireland, and his speech was an angry one, protesting loyalty to the queen and declaring "We intend to keep our language sacred".

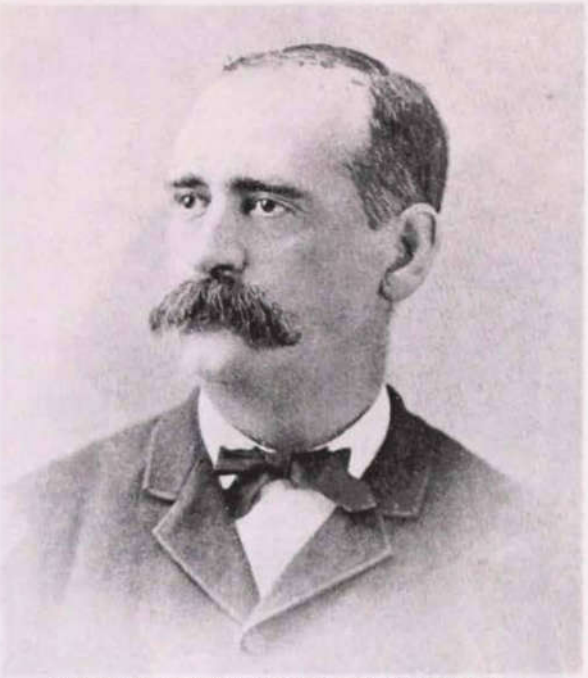
The great speech of the day, however, was the last, from the Hon. David Mills, Q.C., Liberal from Bothwell, Ontario, who had been Minister of the Interior in the Alexander Mackenzie government. Born of Loyalist stock, Mills had graduated from the University of Michigan, served as a Superintendent of Schools, and was a member of the first Parliament of Canada.

Censuring McCarthy for hostility to French Canadians and for insisting on English only, Mills said, "I have always understood that the subjects of Her Majesty are sworn to bear true and faithful allegiance to Her Majesty, but I have never heard that they were sworn to speak the English language". On the other hand, he pointed out that French had been on the statute-book of the Territories for thirteen years as an official language, and had given no impetus to immigration there, so that the French Canadians had no complaint on that score. In general, language is an instrument for conveying intelligence, "It is never regarded as a symbol of sovereignty or of subjection"; its governing rule is "the rule of convenience".

In the central paradox of government, the tension between unity and independence, Mills made a distinction between state and nation: "The United Kingdom is composed of English, Irish, Scotch, and Welsh; there is one state, but there are four nationalities". McCarthy, in his insistence on unity, was confusing the two. "Unity is well-nigh vital to the existence of a nationality, but not absolutely necessary to the maintenance of a state", and even less vital to the special condition of "that highly official organisation of a federal state, where federation and province have a relationship similar to that of state and individual."

When Mills stopped speaking, it was nearly midnight. He sat down to "loud and long-continued applause". He had stirred the House, and the debate was now well under way. When Sir John A. moved adjournment, he noted that "as so many members are going to speak, we shall require Friday and Monday too". They were going to require more than that.

On 14 February there were only four speeches — two of them very long — in the time allotted to Bill No. 10, for the House had other business to attend to. The first two speeches, both long, were by Liberals, and they illustrated how far apart Liberals could be. John Charlton of North Norfolk, Ontario supported the bill; Edward Blake of West Durham declared himself "wholly unable to accept" Charlton's views. Of the other two speakers, Alexander McNeill, Conservative for Bruce North, Ontario who sat beside McCarthy, generally agreed with Charlton and disagreed with Blake. James Sutherland, Liberal for Oxford North, Ontario, one of the youngest members of the House and the last speaker of the day, rebuked McNeill for criticising Blake and rebuked Sir Hector Langevin for his angry accusations. Then with almost comical aplomb, he assured the Quebec members, "I do not think there is any particular danger to their constitutional rights or their civil or religious liberties".



Cléophas Beausoleil MP: Defending the French language.

Of the first two speakers, Charlton, a forthright lumber merchant, gave a firm statement of the case for those who supported the bill: "We want to make this an English nation", with, of course, the separation of church and state. He noted that, though there were several languages in Great Britain, the proceedings of the House of Commons were in English, and English was the one official language. He went on to point out sensibly that a language not being an official language "does not prohibit any man from reading, speaking, or transacting business" in it.

Inside the House on this day the great event was that the next speaker, the Hon. Edward Blake, "the great orator" broke the silence that he had kept since his resignation as leader of the Liberal party three years before. When he rose he was loudly cheered. He began his speech in the afternoon and continued it after the dinner recess.

The University of Toronto in flames, drawn for "Dominion Illustrated" by F.M. Bell-Smith, 1890.

Outside the House, a greater event was taking place, and it was calamitous. A great fire destroyed the University of Toronto. Everything was swept away, the buildings, the library, the equipment. Nothing was saved. The loss was estimated by some at half a million, by others at over a million. News of the disaster came during the recess. The Hon. Edward Blake, Chancellor of the University, wove it into his speech:

> We have just heard of an event we must all deeply deplore. The great institution, the crown and glory of the educational institutions of our country, is at this moment in flames ... a great material ornament, and still greater exhibition of the triumphs of the principles of toleration, a university where we have gathered together the youth of all denominations, Protestants and Catholics ... is now, so far as its material fabric goes, a ruin, tottering to the ground.

Blake turned the fire into an exemplum of what heedless, inflammatory agitation such as McCarthy's could do to the fabric of Canada, "impotent for good and powerful for evil".

Conceding that Canada's two-race, two-language situation "presents problems of very considerable difficulty — perhaps of very considerable danger", he declared that for the moment "it is the duty of those who truly regard the progress and the prosperity of Canada ... to defend the rights of the minorities in this regard, as by law and by covenant and by national settlement established". Adherence to such a policy would require patience, tact, and tolerance, for "at all times and in all countries, minorities are inclined to be suspicious, jealous, apprehensive, exacting — such is the condition of human nature".

As he ended his speech, Blake read out a draft resolution, not unlike Beausoleil's except that he suggested, as others had, necessary homage to the governing hand of time and changing conditions in the region.

Reporting the debate for 17 February, the *Ottawa Journal* noted: "All the galleries of the House were packed and hundreds, including many ladies, were obliged to stand, and many persons were unable to effect an entrance". The star turn that brought the crowds this day was the confrontation of the two champions, Wilfrid Laurier and Sir John A. Macdonald. There was great curiosity as to how they would handle the extremely awkward situation. For a French Cana-

dian to seem to support McCarthy or any of his works was unthinkable. As for Sir John A., some of the chief supporters of Bill No. 10 were from his own party, and their bitter obstinacy threatened to tear in shreds the delicate fabric of the federation which had been woven with such patience and care.

Laurier began with something that had not characterised the debate so far — a straight partisan attack. The attack was ostensibly against McCarthy — who was discreetly absent — but when he fused McCarthy and the Conservative party, it became an attack on both. In his long, emotional speech, Laurier claimed that the bill showed only "the old, old spirit of domination and intolerance, pure unadulterated Toryism", that it was "a declaration of war against the French race", that McCarthy was bent on making the French English and doing away with the French language and separate schools. "I denounce this policy as anti-Canadian, I denounce this policy as anti-British ... I denounce it as a national crime".

Laurier conceded that a way must be found to solve the difficulty and even the danger of Canada's "duality of language and duality of race". McCarthy had tried "the Tory method by which they have tried to make Ireland British for seven hundred years. ... The true remedy is mutual forbearance and respect. Canada must be British, British in allegiance and Canadian in sentiment", but not unilingual. He repudiated separatists: "The extreme men of Quebec will talk today of forming a French nation on the banks of the St. Lawrence, and the extremists of Ontario talk of driving away the French with bayonets". The fact was that "the descendants of France" had found in Canada under the British Crown "greater liberty than they could have hoped for under the French regime"; moreover, the Tories had been kept in power in Ottawa for nearly thirty years "almost entirely by French Canadian support from Quebec".

As for language, he said that he probably would have agreed to the bill if it had been presented simply, by itself, for though French had been the dominating language of civilization at the end of the seventeenth century, "it is no longer the language of the many". English had become the chief language of the world, and "it is imperative for us French Canadians to learn English", though it might also be well if Anglo-Canadians learned French. But he could not accept the bill with its embellishments; neither could he accept Davin's amendment, on the rather surprising grounds that, although the 1890 census showed the population of the Territories to be roughly that of Quebec at the time of cession, it was too small "to be entrusted with the full power of responsible government". The Territories Assembly would get cold comfort from the Liberals. The bill was premature. "The proper time to deal with this question will be when we are prepared to give the

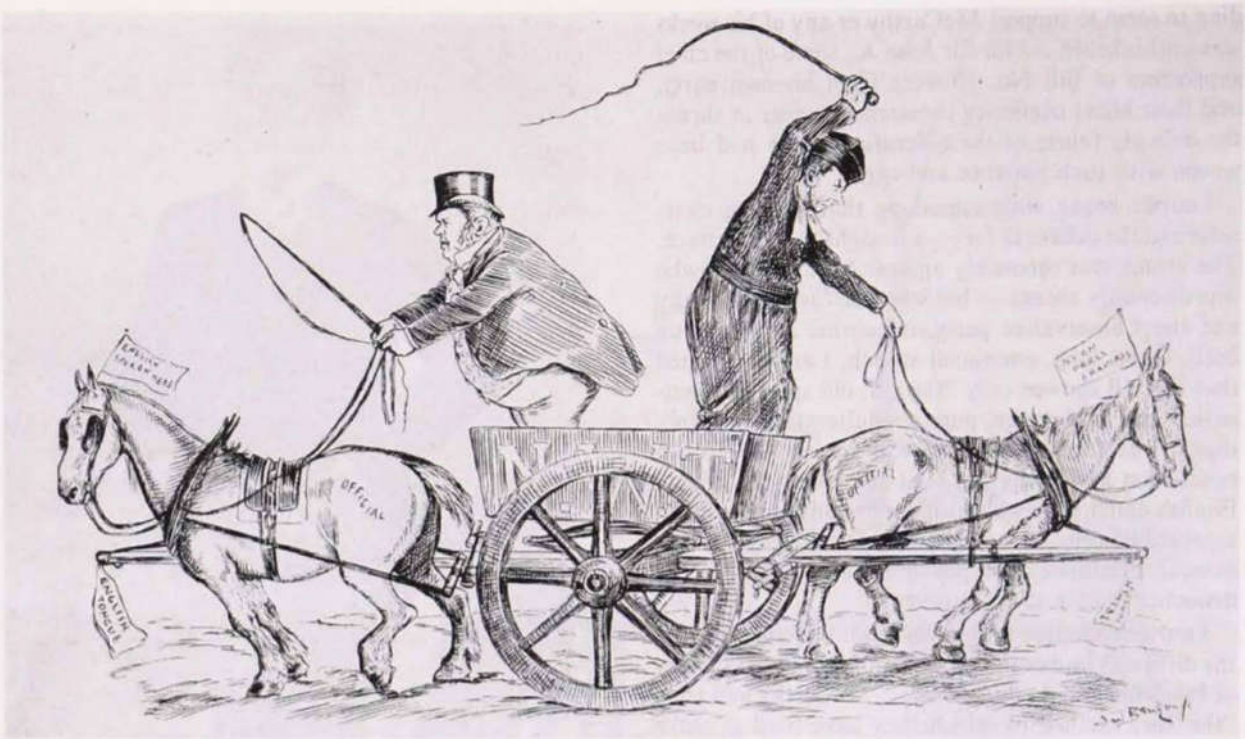
Archives of Ontario

Edward Blake, as seen by the cartoonist "Spy" in "Vanity Fair".

Territories, perhaps not absolute, but a more extended form of self-government". In other words, the champion of local autonomy advised deferment.

It was late afternoon when Laurier finished and Sir John A. rose, tall, gaunt, and weary. He began by saying that havering about whether Quebec was conquered or ceded was irrelevant: "We have a constitution now under which all British subjects are in a position of absolute equality, having equal rights of every kind — of language, of religion, of property and of person. There is no paramount race in this country; there is no conquered race in this country; we are all British subjects".

Macdonald then expressed regret that Laurier had felt constrained to make attacks against the Tories, "not altogether generous or altogether politic". He documented the defence by Tories of French Canadians and their language from 1840 on. So that, if the



Metro Toronto Public Library

J.W. Bengough views the language debate for "Grip", February 1890.

French of Quebec had kept the Tories in power for thirty years, it was because they got "full and ample justice" from them.

He opposed the present bill because it was based on the purpose of depriving the French people of their language, and though it was trivial and useless, yet it was noisome, with "the sting of a gnat". Like Davin and Blake, Macdonald would leave the dual language question to the future and to the Territories themselves: "The fact that they are not yet a province is of very little consequence. Whether they are called a province or a territory, they have rights as British Subjects. . . . If they want to use the French language, they should be allowed to use it, and if they want to use the English language, they should be allowed to use it, and it should be left to themselves". He favored Davin's amendment because any measure taken now for the Territories was necessarily temporary in view of the increasing population, and therefore safe. Future provincial status would supersede territorial legislation. He ended by an appeal to the Liberals to work towards a compromise proposal.

When Sir John A. finished speaking it was six o'clock, and the afternoon sitting was over. Those who had come to see fireworks were disappointed by Macdonald's restraint; those who had come out of concern for Canada were reassured by both men. When the debate resumed that night, the partisan quality that had entered in the afternoon was gone, no doubt because, of the six speakers, only one, and he was last of the night, was Liberal. Blake, unfortunately, had to return to Toronto that night in connection with the disaster at the university, and so Sir John A. would have to find another mediator. McCarthy was back in his place.

The first two speakers were from Ontario. Both men urged reconciliation and compromise.

They were reasonable but pale beside Alonzo Wright, Lieutenant Colonel in the Reserve Militia, "King of the Gatineau" whose grandfather had come from Massachusetts and founded the village of Hull, who had been born in Hull, who rejoiced in his native province of Quebec as he rejoiced in his marriage to Mary Sparks, eldest daughter of the late Nicholas Sparks, one of Ottawa's leading citizens. For twenty-five years, Alonzo Wright had represented the Quebec riding of Ottawa County where the large majority were French Canadians of "kindly courtesy and chivalrous gallantry". He was strongly opposed to the bill and to fanatics of either race who would endanger "the best and freest country that ever the sun shone on". He urged common sense and compromise. And from this fiery old soldier came a simple and affecting statement in the face of controversy: "The people of this Dominion like each other".

Apart from the wide-ranging nature of the debate, perhaps its most remarkable feature was the probing of Canadian history. It had a curiously dramatic quality, proceeding not in any chronological order but in flashbacks, gradual revelations, sudden insights, illuminating now the near past, now the recommendations of George III's solicitor-general; then again, and often, recalling the words of Lord Durham or Lord Dufferin; reviewing the Protestant school system in Quebec, or Papineau and the rebellion; or, as on this night, shining on the dark corner of the expulsion of the Acadians, long before Canada existed or was thought of, but a vivid part of the history of the Maritimes.

Acadian suffering was brought to mind in the House when Pierre Landry, member for Kent, New Brunswick, and the descendant of Acadians, reviewed the status of French in the constitution of Louisiana down to 1856. Alexis Dessaint, Liberal for Kamouraska, who spoke in French, read out lengthy passages from a history of the expulsion, attributing the cruelties to "the Americans", and especially to "les Bostonnais." Yet he noted that the expulsion was not permanent, many came back, and there were now 110,000 Acadians in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

Richard Weldon, member for Albert, Dean of the Dalhousie Law faculty and also familiar with the Acadian country, remarked that New Brunswick had a considerable French-speaking minority but no dual language, and that Pierre Landry's constituency had a large English-speaking element who were his supporters. He noted that Section 110 of the Territories Act had not attracted French-speaking immigrants in thirteen years, and was not likely to take them now from "the factories and farms of the New England States". He agreed with the bill that it is desirable to have one language, and cited "the great, progressive and sensible people" of the United States with one language, public schools and English Common Law. But he declared that "the one million people in the provinces by the sea are one man in saying that it is our bounden duty, in good faith and honour, absolutely to preserve inviolate those provisions of the treaty, those guarantees of the constitution" enunciated in the British North America Act.

The galleries of the House were packed again on 18 February. With the vote on the Beausoleil amendment scheduled, this day was an end-of-Act II point in the debate. The amendment lost by 117 to 63, with every French Canadian in the House — except one — voting for Beausoleil. It was a vote based on race, it was the chasm that Macdonald feared. And it was a climax that demanded a resolution.

The highly charged emotional atmosphere in the House was manifest as debate resumed, in the speech of the Hon. Adolphe Chapleau, Secretary of State, the one Quebec member who voted against the amendment. He spoke for all of the afternoon and part of the evening, but as the *Manitoba Free Press* reported, he spoke "for over three hours and sat down without offering to support any amendment yet proposed or saying what line he intended to pursue". It was the speech of a man torn between what he knew he was going to do and what he wished could happen; it was a tribute to the loyalty and tradition of the French Canadian people; it was also a plea for the French language in the North-West Territories.

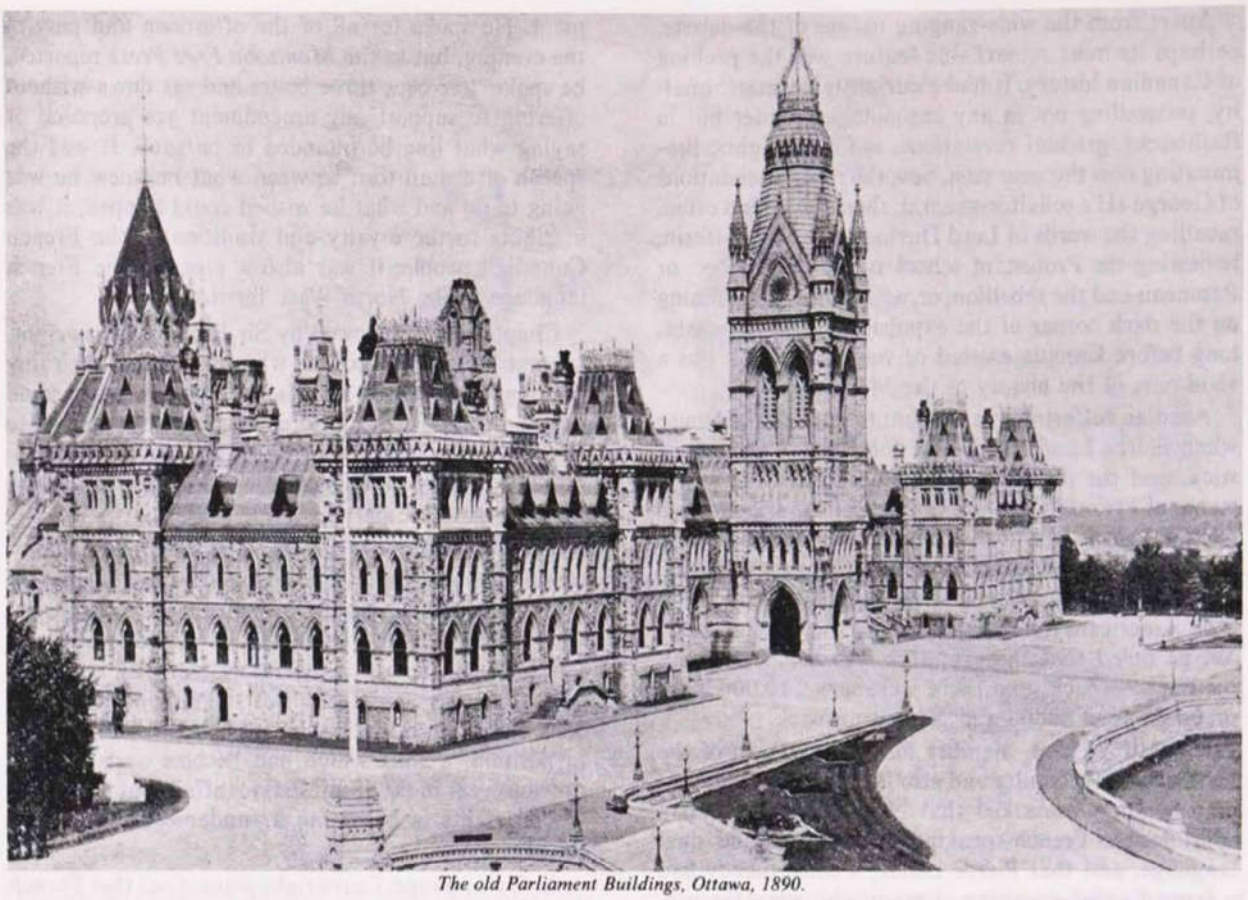
Chapleau was followed by Sir Richard Cartwright, Liberal for South Oxford, who had served with distinction as Minister of Finance in the Mackenzie government, but who, before that, had been elected to Parliament in Confederation year as a Macdonald supporter, which he remained until 1869 when he crossed the floor to the Liberals.

Cartwright had a vivid recollection of the Confederation deliberations, when Macdonald had argued for a legislative union with a strong central government, whereas Cartier had insisted that Quebec would not join unless there was a federal system with considerable autonomy in the hands of the provinces. Cartier won. Sir Richard was fascinated by Macdonald's shift in position, a shift which had become apparent the previous year in the Jesuit Estates affair, but now "provincial rights is becoming a fundamental article of faith".

As for language, Cartwright pointed out that French Canadians were guaranteed by treaty that their language would be undisturbed in their native province and in the parliament and courts of Canada. The rights granted Quebec recognised Quebec's special status and must be maintained, but the special conditions should stop there. In the rest of the country language decisions should be made according to "the rule of convenience".

The high point of the evening, the vote on the amendment to the amendment was at hand, but there were formal preliminaries. The mover of the bill and the mover of the first amendment were to be given a chance at rebuttal.

McCarthy made a spirited defence. There had been gross distortion of the bill; no one suggested that a person should not speak his mother tongue in social, business, or family affairs; the bill had no reference to Quebec nor to Parliament, but to the North-West Territories "which have always belonged to the Crown of Britain and never to France"; if the preamble was offensive, it could be deleted. But he was unrepentant. He still believed that the future of the country would be best worked out by people speaking the language of the majority, and that that language over the whole of North America would be English and not French. He also believed that since Parliament had inserted the language clause, Parliament should delete it.



The old Parliament Buildings, Ottawa, 1890.

Davin limited himself to reiterating his two main points of opposition to McCarthy: A single language does not make a nation and conversely a nation can exist successfully with several languages; dual language in the North-West is a local matter and best settled by the Assembly after consultation with the people.

The division bells rang, the members took their places, the vote was recorded, 117 to 63, with Chapleau the sole Quebec member voting against it. The *Regina Leader,* Davin's paper, commented, "The bravery of Mr. Chapleau in voting against the Beausoleil motion, when every other French Canadian in the House went for it, showed the fine mettle of the Secretary of State". The first movement of the debate was over, but the proceedings of the night were not.

The mediator, Sir John Thompson, Minister of Justice, rose in his place and proposed another amendment, which was seconded by Chapleau. Since joining the Macdonald cabinet in 1885, Thompson had shepherded the House through the Riel crisis and through the wrangle over the Jesuit Estates. Now the prime minister was calling upon his conciliatory powers to restore at least surface harmony. Noting that it was near midnight on the fifth day of debate and speed was necessary, Thompson presented the three sentences of his amendment. It was a pastiche of the proposals of Beausoleil, Blake, and Davin: a denial that community of language is necessary to national unity; a declaration of adherence of the House to the covenants of the British North America Act; and a proposal that after the next Territories election, the Assembly should receive the power to regulate its proceedings and the recording of them. There was a proviso that outside the Assembly, the language of the federal courts and the printing of ordinances would continue under the governance of Parliament which would continue funding for them, and in those areas French would remain an official language.

The Gordian knot, if not cut, was at least frayed a little and an arrangement made for peace with both sides. For that night, the House adjourned at 12:35 a.m. until Thursday, Wednesday being Ash Wednesday, then a statutory holiday.

Ash Wednesday had given time for thought. When the House met on Thursday afternoon the conciliatory mood of Tuesday night, that had glossed over the deep division of the vote, had dissipated, and unexpected

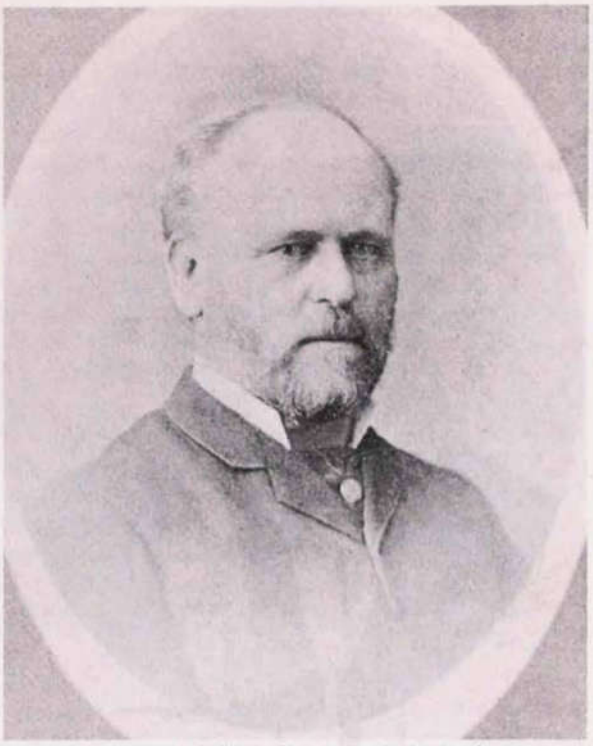
opposition to Sir John Thompson's amendment had taken its place. Liberals and Conservatives, French-speaking or English, members from Ontario, Quebec, and some from the Maritimes, were dissatisfied, and they had talked to the press. "Another field day in the House on the McCarthy Bill", was the prediction. "A settlement of the disturbing problem is as far off as ever".

A strong attempt was made in the afternoon sitting to still the turbulence. After prayers, the Hon. Peter Mitchell, Liberal for Northumberland, New Brunswick, rose in his place. His face was one of those in the huge painting that faced the main entrance of the Parliament Buildings, "The Founders of Confederation" the painting of the Quebec Conference by Robert Harris of Charlottetown, P.E.I. For six years it had hung there, massive — fifteen feet by eleven — in its heavy bronze and gold frame, a daily reminder to all who entered of the voluntary union that had been created. Peter Mitchell brought the sound of those far-off voices into the immediate gathering where he and Sir John A. and Sir Hector Langevin "have a peculiar responsibility" to the members of that company:

> One of the great difficulties we experienced in London when we were preparing the Constitution of the Dominion to submit to the British Parliament for its approval and enactment ... arose out of these questions of language and schools. We felt the importance of conciliation and concession, the importance of conceding to the minority certain rights which they should enjoy, but the difficulty connected with this subject very nearly broke up the Conference in London. I realised then that the people of Canada were composed mainly of two races ... and I did not realise the difficulties as strongly as I do today.

Peter Mitchell pointed out, as others had done, that the Maritimes (the same was true of British Columbia) came into Confederation as independent provinces with laws and rights which were in existence at the time of the union, which were recognised by the British North America Act, and which remained in existence. The agreements were different from that which governed the two Canadas (Ontario and Quebec) and contained no dual language clauses. The people had exercised "ordinary common sense" and had demonstrated that it was possible to live amicably without legislation governing language and schools. He paid generous tribute to the French Canadians who, where they are in power, "deal with the English-speaking people with a liberality which does credit to them".

As for the Territories, Mitchell was convinced that with increasing immigration "the French language would have been eliminated by the operation of time",



Peter Mitchell: MP for Northumberland and a Father of Confederation.

and he regretted that Bill No. 10 had been introduced at all. Similarly he would have postponed the Thompson amendment until after the Government had granted the Territories provincial status, at which time the language question would automatically come under provincial jurisdiction. Urging compromise and patience, he said, "if there are not concessions on both sides, it can only end in the disruption of the Dominion, and the breaking up of what, when we laid its foundation, we believed would be a great nation".

Sir John A. rose. He praised Mitchell's "calm and wise speech", and described the amendment as a temporary measure of peace, and appealed for support for it and warned against "hazarding the future of the country" on a question of feelings:

> For what credit can we, financially or otherwise, hope to obtain if it is known in England, if it is known especially on the stock exchange — the most fearful and timorous of all bodies — that the two races which inhabit Canada are drawn up against each other on matters of sentiment, feeling and prejudice, which are less easy to be soothed than mere material questions. If this country should fall from the proud position it now holds in the eyes of the world, it will be because by our own insensate conduct we have destroyed our credit, destroyed our prestige, and ruined the future.

Sir Richard Cartwright: No enemy like an old friend.

Compromise, conciliation, and patience — these were the three great virtues of Confederation.

But peace was not yet. The dissenters wanted to express their dissent. Peter White, Conservative for Renfrew, another lumber merchant, disagreed with Thompson about the status of the territorial courts, declaring that they were not courts of Canada but provincial courts and therefore not subject to the language provision of the British North America Act. Louis Davies, Liberal for Queen's, Prince Edward Island, and Thompson's colleague on fisheries negotiations, rejected the amendment as a half-and-half measure.

A practical view came from François Béchard, Liberal of Iberville, P.Q., who had lived for a time in Illinois, and who said that French Canadians must keep their language and their literature, but they must also learn English for "any man today who wants to do business must learn that language".

When Béchard sat down, the Hon. Edgar Dewdney, Minister of the Interior, member for Assiniboia, N.W.T., broke his strange silence. He had had long experience in the North-West, first as Indian Commissioner and later as Lieutenant-Governor, and he recalled the beginnings of the North-West Assembly as an appointed and absentee advisory council of five, meeting sporadically. By 1881, "when I took charge", the majority of the population was already English speaking. Though ordinances and journals of the legislature were published in both French and English, the two languages were not used at the opening ceremonies of the sessions because Dewdney knew no French. He was not aware of any disturbance in the Assembly, nor had he heard any complaints or protests as he travelled through the country last summer in McCarthy's wake. He would vote for the Thompson amendment, but he was confident that the people of the Territories wouldn't care anyway: "If they can raise their 25 bushels of wheat, their 70 bushels of oats, and their 300 or 400 bushels of potatoes, to the acre, they will be contented and happy". The arrogant attitude of Dewdney (born in Devonshire, England) towards the people of the North-West, evident in these remarks, amply accounted for his unpopularity there.

Characteristic of this long debate, there was scarcely a speaker who did not add to the general knowledge or suggest another viewpoint or open up another avenue of thought. A substantial contribution was made by the last speaker of the night, and at 37 the youngest of all the speakers, Charles Langelier, Liberal for Montmorency, younger brother of François Langelier, also a member of the House, later Dean of the Laval Law School and one of the founders of the Parti National.

In his long speech in French, Charles Langelier explained the origins of the Parti National and defended Mercier in his dealings with minorities. In that connection, he read into *Hansard* correspondence between Premier Mercier and the Rev. Mr. Rexford, secretary of the Protestant section of the Council of Public Instruction for the Province of Quebec. It showed the fair and civilized treatment afforded the nearly one thousand Protestant separate schools there. Indeed, this correspondence, together with Mitchell's tribute made day six a day of testimonial to the French Canadians when they were in the majority.

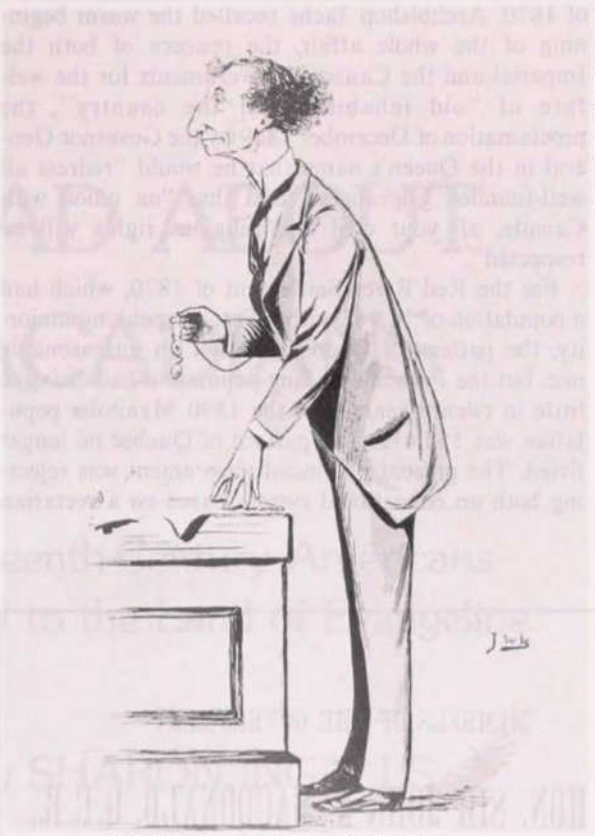
It was now 1:00 a.m. on Friday. Sir John A. spoke across the floor to Laurier, wistfully hoping that now, at the end of six days of debate, the vote could be called. But by now the Liberals were in full sail, and Laurier could not stop them, though he promised to do his best.

The debate was adjourned to be continued later that day.

As Laurier had said the night before, this was a debate in which it was "more difficult than usual to have an understanding across the floor", and both leaders saw the clear danger of what Flavian Dupont called "the dark cloud on our political horizon", a split leading to political parties based on race, religion, and language — French Catholic Liberals opposing English Protestant Conservatives. On Friday morning at 10:30 a.m. both parties held emergency caucuses. Sir

John A. appealed to his followers "to stamp out the race and creed cry which has been raised until it threatens the peace of the country", and Wilfrid Laurier with equal urgency exhorted the Liberals to compromise. Many responded to the appeal, as did Philip Casgrain, Liberal for L'Islet, P.Q., whose family had owned three Quebec seigneuries under the French regime, who deplored the fact that the subject "has arrayed a compact body of French members against the English-speaking members", and declared that, peace and amity being essential, he would support "the conclusion arrived at by the wiser heads on both sides of the House". The press predicted that Thompson's amendment would pass, that "A vote will probably be reached this afternoon or this evening and it will be a God-send to hundreds who are here, unable to transact any business until this all-absorbing question is disposed of."

Not all members were as tractable as Casgrain. Cléophas Beausoleil insisted on the rightness of his own amendment even though the House had rejected it, and made the astonishing declaration for a Quebec Nationalist and Mercier's lieutenant, that "It is not of the essence of provincial rights that a provincial legislature should have the power of deciding in what language its proceedings should be carried on, or its records printed." And McCarthy rose again to repeat



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Sir John A. faces the House, by J.W. Bengough.

Edward Blake: A voice from the back bench.

National Archives of Canada

his warning that if second reading of the bill were denied and Bill No. 10 therefore finished, "I shall bring it up again at the earliest opportunity".

Those seeking peace and amity were further shaken when news came over the wires from Winnipeg that a new school bill had been introduced in the Manitoba Legislature which "abolishes separate schools and the Board of Education. All schools are free, non-sectarian, and under the direct control of the government. Religious exercises are optional with the trustees." Manitoba was exercising its provincial authority over educational matters. It was also declaring its version of the separation of church and state.

On this last day, however, even under the pressure of urgency, the debate kept its essential quality: discussions were tangential but enlightening. Possibly as a reaction to the news from the West, eight Quebec members continued the testimonial to their province, among them three English-speaking Protestants.

The news from Manitoba undoubtedly incited LaRivière of Provencher to read into *Hansard* a historical account, this time in a letter to him from Archbishop Taché of St. Boniface, dated 12 September 1889 "on the question of separate schools and of the dual language". It included an account of the events

of 1870. Archbishop Taché recalled the warm beginning of the whole affair, the concern of both the Imperial and the Canadian governments for the welfare of "old inhabitants of the country", the proclamation of December 1869 by the Governor General in the Queen's name that he would "redress all well-founded grievances", and that "on union with Canada, all your civil and religious rights will be respected".

For the Red River Settlement of 1870, which had a population of 11,963 with a French-speaking majority, the pattern of Quebec was not an unreasonable one, but the French-speaking population had changed little in twenty years, and the 1890 Manitoba population was 154,412. The pattern of Quebec no longer fitted. The present provincial government was rejecting both an educational system based on a sectarian census and the dual language system in a multi-language setting. It was, as Blake said, a kind of turning point for Canada; Manitoba and the Territories would follow the custom of English as the one official language, which was the custom of the Maritime provinces and of British Columbia.

Laurier was well aware of the prospect ahead. Following the discussions of this day and the news from Manitoba, he was in an extraordinarily difficult position as the day drew to a close and the vote came near. It was with great courage that he exhorted the Quebec members as he had done in the morning caucus, urging that, though it was painful for many of them "to vote for a measure which may, perhaps, imply the possibility that the French language should cease to be an official language of the Territories", they must look to the future. "Let us remember this, that if we are prepared to stand by the principle of local autonomy in the North-West Territories, we will stand ten times, and a hundred times stronger when we have to meet an attack in our own Province."

The question, then, was to be a question of neither religion, language, nor race, but of a political principle, the matter of authority as between the provincial and the federal governments. The division was called. The Thompson amendment passed by 149 to 50. Those voting against it were of three groups: followers of McCarthy, followers of Beausoleil, and followers of Davin who wanted to vote on the first amendment.

In the outcome, nearly everybody won. Sir John A. won, for the open rift did not occur and Confederation had withstood a severe attack. Wilfrid Laurier won in the general advance of provincial rights. The Territories Assembly won, for their petition had received most hearty attention and with the spring they would be empowered to make their own decision. In Manitoba even D'Alton McCarthy won in the new language and school laws. And the Canadian people won; they knew more about themselves than they had known, and the power was with them. ♦

Margaret Stobie is the author of "The Other Side of Rebellion", NeWest Press, Edmonton, 1986. Dr. Stobie contributed the article "Pope and Czar on the North Saskatchewan" to our April/May 1989 issue and would like to thank Mr. S.S. Hu of the Law Courts Library, Edmonton, for assistance with that article.

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1890.

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MAD ABOUT ACADIANS

Nineteenth-Century Americans Flocked to the Land of Evangeline

By SHARON INGALLS

For more than fifty years, beginning in the 1860s, Nova Scotia's Annapolis Valley and its environs attracted thousands of visitors from the Eastern Seaboard of the United States. The area's popularity with tourists was due to more than its pastoral scenery, refreshing climate, and many opportunities for recreational activity. In addition to these attractions, events which had occurred in the past clothed parts of Nova Scotia in an atmosphere of romance and nostalgia, making it the ideal spot for a Victorian vacation.

Nova Scotia had not always been so positively perceived, especially by Americans living in New England. In the post-Revolution era they referred to Nova Scotia as "Nova Scarcity" and their descendants, throughout the nineteenth century, used "Go to Halifax" as a euphemism for "Go to Hell".

The changed perception of Nova Scotia from an inhospitable land to the perfect vacation site, can, in large part, be attributed to a major literary event, the publication in 1847 of Longfellow's *Evangeline*. Even though this narrative poem about the expulsion of the Acadians became immensely popular, it did not motivate a sudden rush of visitors to see the places it described. *Evangeline,* in the words of a nineteenth-century travel writer, may have "spread a glory over Nova Scotia", but other conditions had to be met before the province could attract large numbers of tourists.

Prime among these conditions was the improvement of transportation facilities. Railway building began in the 1850s, but of even greater significance for tourism was the inauguration of a regular steamship service between Yarmouth and Boston in 1855. An important external factor was the growth of a potential market in New England. There, expanding industrialization produced a large middle class that had wealth and leisure to travel. As well, urbanization increased the desire of the well-to-do to escape noisy, congested cities for a natural environment which, it was believed, had restorative powers.

Unable to emulate the upper class who spent the "season" abroad, middle class urbanites sought afford-

Grand-Pré and Minas Basin, from a nineteenth-century magazine illustration by F.B. Schell. Grand Pré was one of the Acadian settlements from which the population was expelled in 1755 after residents refused to make an unconditional oath of allegiance to the British crown.

able substitutes which could provide an equivalent experience. With transportation facilities in operation, Nova Scotia provided such an alternative. It was, after all, a foreign country and it had some of the attractions of Europe: picturesque scenery, a romantic past, a healthy climate, and noble, virtuous peasants who lived in harmony with nature. These "peasants" were the Acadian people, who could be observed in all their quaint simplicity along Nova Scotia's "French Shore".

Nova Scotia's cool climate was a prime attraction for Americans who found their cities unbearably hot in the summer. Elizabeth Chase, an American tourist who recorded her impressions of Nova Scotia in 1885, thought the weather, "a source of wonder and delight". This, it should be remembered, was during a time when ladies wore large hats and carried parasols to protect a "peaches and cream" complexion. Much of Nova Scotia's "nearly perfect" climate could be attributed to the ozone of its healthy seaside air. Immersion in salt water was also believed to be therapeutic, but most Victorian tourists were content to breathe the salt air.

American tourists were also attracted to Nova Scotia because it was a foreign country with not one, but two historic traditions and peoples. To be sure, the French tradition was mainly to be found in art and literature, but its presence could be felt through a few relics of the past and by observing the descendants of the exiled Acadians. Americans were also acutely aware of any element which identified Nova Scotia as distinctively British. In the travel literature of the period, Halifax is always described as an English town, and the hedgerows and clipped shrubbery of Yarmouth are marked as signs of a typical British landscape.

Nova Scotia answered another need of the Victorian tourist, the desire for a colourful history through which they could form connections to the past. Sensitive, cultured Americans — and Canadians — lamented the lack of old traditions, legendary lore, and antique ruins in their "new" country, but in Nova Scotia they found, as one travel writer remarked, "a romantic interest which our own land has not yet inspired". Another American writer, Margaret Warner Morley, commented that, "nowhere else in British America have history and poetry combined in so wonderful a manner to romanticise a place". She was referring specifically to Grand-Pré, the site of the deportation as described by Longfellow, but the enthusiasm the poem inspired led to a general interest in Acadian history. Tourists became familiar with actual figures from the past as well as with Longfellow's fictional characters. Besides the tragic lovers, the landscape was peopled by the

In the parish church at Grand-Pré, 1755, from a drawing by C.W. Jefferys. The Acadians learn that they must leave their homes. In time, many of the Acadians returned to British North America.

Scene from Acadian life, from a nineteenth-century edition of "Evangeline".

founders of Acadia: de Monts, Champlain, the dastardly Charnisay, noble Charles de St. Etienne La Tour, and Marie, his heroic wife. These and others were present, at least in the imagination.

The realistic, narrative art of the Victorian period helped to give substance to both historical and fictitious figures. Longfellow's heroine Evangeline, in particular, inspired many popular artists of the day.

Works of art also stimulated a favourite activity of cultured tourists, searching out beautiful views. These views were defined according to the aesthetic standard of the period, the picturesque. This vision included pastoral landscapes with a touch of untamed nature, simple folk harmoniously integrated with their rustic environment, and ancient ruins or decayed, gnarled trees representing man's mortality. Nineteenth-century tourists' perceptions were shaped by this concept of beauty with its longing for the past and its search for groups identified with nature. Like their counterparts in Europe, visitors to Nova Scotia undertook excursions for the sake of picturesque scenery. Favourites included views to be found along the Annapolis Basin, the Cornwallis Valley, and the Bay of Fundy.

But sensitive, literate tourists expected to find more than picturesque scenery in Nova Scotia; they expected to find scenes such as those Longfellow described in *Evangeline*. That so many did is remarkable as Longfellow had never visited the area.

Jeannette A. Grant, writing in 1894, scans every landscape looking for signs of the Acadian presence. She is thrilled to see "gayly dressed girls with bright parasols . . . seated in slow-moving ox-carts" as they are a "living picture from the poem", but she is disappointed that the priest she meets in an Acadian settlement is not French. "It would have been more in harmony with people and place, and *more like the poem*," Grant laments. Morley, who visited a few years later, also looks for picturesque evidence of the past, but she distinguishes between reality and images created and enhanced by the poem. These poetic images were so evocative and powerful that many visitors actually see Acadia as Longfellow described it in the first line of his poem:

This is the forest primeval. The murmuring pines and the hemlocks . . .

Morley, however, realizes that what many visitors see, especially at Grand-Pré, only exists by virtue of poetic imagination: "the forest primeval occupies the neighbouring hills in spite of the fact that not a forest tree is now on them; and we listen gratefully to the murmuring pines and the hemlocks, although there are not enough pine trees in all Nova Scotia to murmur effectively . . ."

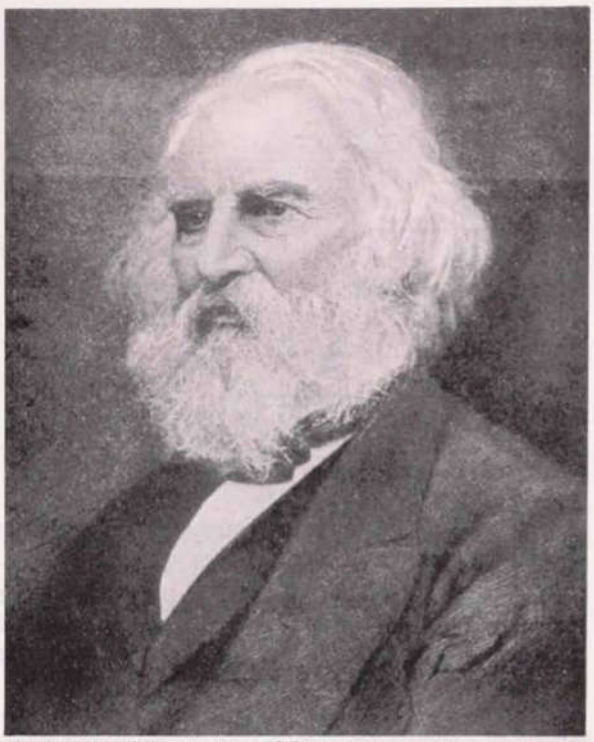
The pattern for American travel in Nova Scotia was set by Frederick Cozzens, a popular humourist, in his 1859 book, *Acadia; or a Month with the Blue Noses.* Apparently, he was conscious of being a trend-setter: "That the idea of visiting Nova Scotia ever struck any living person as something peculiarly pleasant and cheerful, is not within the bounds of probability . . . there are certain vague rumours of extensive and constant fogs, but nothing more. The land is a sort of terra incognita". Cozzens had not intended to tour Nova Scotia. Initially he planned to go to Bermuda for reasons of health, but had been detained in Halifax when problems arose with steamer connections. Being mentally prepared for a holiday, he decided to explore Nova Scotia. Halifax was disappointing, "quaint" and "moldy" with nothing of the picturesque to be found. But when he embarked on a schooner for Louisbourg, the moist sea air cured his illness: ". . . the air was deliciously bland, invigourating, and pregnant with life; to breath it was a transport; you felt it in every globule of blood, in every pore of the lungs. I could have hugged that fog, I was so happy!" His raptures failed to make fog popular with tourists, but he did manage to convey the impression that the climate was very healthy. Nor did his adventurous trip to Louisbourg become a model for future tourists, as the area was difficult to reach. Nevertheless, his accounts of the tragic history of the Acadians, along with his descriptions of the Annapolis and Cornwallis valleys, inspired others to follow his example.

Cozzens, like the tourists who followed him, saw much of the province through the eyes of Longfellow. Prepared to find the Acadians a virtuous, devout people unsullied by the vices of modern civilization, this is what tourists perceived when they actually encountered them. Later tourists visited the Acadian settlements along St. Mary's Bay, but Cozzens does not appear to be aware of their existence. Instead, he goes to the Acadian settlement at Chezzetcook, a short excursion which the friends he had recently made in Halifax find extremely perplexing. On the way to Chezzetcook, Cozzens passes through a black settlement on the outskirts of Dartmouth. The difference between his idealization of the Acadians and his realistic assessment of the situation of the blacks is quite striking, especially since both groups seem to be living in abject poverty. The Acadians, seen through the haze of poetry and art, are unchanged since the days of de Monts, claims Cozzens. He sees them solely in terms of the picturesque; groups of working women are viewed only as possible subjects for painting or sculpture. The Acadians' poverty is obvious. They tell Cozzens that they can offer him no refreshment as they have none, but this apparently is part of their charm. In contrast, Cozzens describes the black community as being in "the raggedest, the meanest, the worst condition of humanity". He notes their poor land and feels great sympathy for their wretched state. Later tourists would also gloss over Acadian poverty, seeing it as a necessary and integral part of their quaint, traditional way of life.

Ten years after Cozzens' book appeared, there are indications that tourism was flourishing in the Annapolis Valley. Two of the engines on the Annapolis-Grand Pré line, completed in 1869, were called *Evangeline* and *Gabriel*, while the evergreen arches erected for the opening ceremonies read, "Welcome to the land of Gabriel and Evangeline". In 1871 group tourism began when four hundred people, the "Coit party" from Boston, travelled on a special train through the Annapolis Valley.

Workers from New England's industrial towns were part of the influx of tourists to Nova Scotia. At one point during 1899-1900 — a price war between competing steamship companies drove the price of a ticket from Boston to Yarmouth down to seventy-five cents, making the fare for a brief visit affordable to many.

The writer Beckles Willson, who toured Nova Scotia in 1911, comments on the thousands of Americans he encountered. Windsor, Annapolis Royal and Wolfville, he notes, are centres for American tourists; Digby, Parrsboro, Baddeck, Barrington, and Weymouth are also pointed out as being especially popular with Americans. Willson seems somewhat overwhelmed with the popularity of Nova Scotia with its neighbours to the south, especially as his visit was prompted by the desire to attract British emigrants to the province. While Willson notes the American presence, he has little interest in the sites they find appealing. On the contrary, instead of romanticizing the fate of the Acadians, Willson provides us with a heartrending account of the sufferings of the Loyalist pioneers in Nova Scotia.



Henry W. Longfellow: A vision of the past.

Willson's point of view suggests why Canadian tourists were slower than their American neighbours to appreciate the attractions of the "Land of Evangeline". Few English Canadians of the period would support Eliza Chase's view that the expulsion was a cruel wrong and that the Acadians were "an inoffensive people banished by the mandate of a tyrant". American tourists felt that their ancestors had suffered under the same tyrant and few realized that their New England forebears had helped persecute the Acadians. Cozzens is unusual in his awareness of the New Englanders' involvement, but he consciously divorces himself from pre-revolutionary America: "let us take a fresh start in history and brag of nothing that antedates Bunker Hill". The author of a Kentville tourist brochure makes a point of reminding Americans of their participation in the expulsion while he chastises them, "we cannot overlook the fact that a vast amount of sympathy has been misplaced and wasted on the Acadians".

It seems apparent that the residents of Nova Scotia did not initiate the new industry which was thrust upon

them, but once begun, they contributed to its growth and development.

Businessmen and entrepreneurs prompted Nova Scotia's attractions and provided transportation and accommodation. Local guide books with extravagant praise existed as early as 1874 when C. D. Warner, the author of *Baddeck, and that Sort of Thing*, comments on a guide book's claim that the Annapolis Basin equals the Bay of Naples, "the passing traveller can stand it if the Bay of Naples can". Other characteristics of Nova Scotia which guide books commented on were sometimes elevated to the ridiculous. The 1894 edition of *Beautiful Nova Scotia; The Tourists' Eden* states that Nova Scotians are so healthy that their doctors starve and that if there was a hot night in Nova Scotia its people would think that the end of the world had come.

Initially the influx of tourists was accommodated in boarding houses, inns and small hotels. Digby was already a popular summer resort in the 1880s with tourists boarding with local families. Visiting Americans frequently complained of the lack of good hotels, but it was not until the late nineteenth century that large, modern hotels were built to cater to the demand.

The needs of tourists regarding transportation and accommodation were gradually met, but interest in creating or preserving sites for tourists lagged behind. Most local residents were indifferent to the relics of the past which captured the eyes of visitors. Eliza Chase, who spent the summer of 1884 in Annapolis Royal, comments that the year before townspeople had destroyed an old blockhouse situated at the fort and had used the wood for other purposes. In 1894, Grant notes, with disapproval, that the barracks of historic Fort Anne were occupied by "tenants of the poorer class". At Grand-Pré, Grant remarks that local residents have little sympathy with the traditions of *Evangeline*. The owner of some relics, which include a rusty key and a cow-bell, shows them to the tourists "with the manner of one who wondered why anybody should desire to see such things." Completely absorbed by the poem, Grant is almost ready to believe the owner's claim that the cow-bell belonged to Evangeline's heifer and the key is the key of the chapel where the announcement of the expulsion was made.

It is likely that the attention tourists paid to certain locales stimulated Nova Scotians to take a new interest in their heritage. This is certainly true of Grand-Pré, where the efforts of individuals and private enterprise combined to create a memorial park. When Cozzens visited the site in 1859, the only evidence of the Acadian presence was ancient willows and the dykes. As Grand-Pré was the final destination for Americans on their "Evangeline" pilgrimage, these scanty memorials of the past were probably disappointing. Gradually, more evidence of the Acadian past appeared. In 1884, when Chase visited, her group was able to admire an Acadian well, recently rewalled, and the site of the ancient church. Morley, in 1900, is surprised that the owner of the field in which the well is located does not charge admission. She also notes that the water in the well is unclean and warns the tourist to "think twice before he follows the advice of certain sentimental guide-books and drinks from the sparkling waters that once had kissed Evangeline's lovely lips".

In 1907, John Frederic Herbin, an Acadian poet and historian, purchased the site with the intention of creating a memorial to his people. A year later, the provincial government passed an act which protected the area, but it was not until 1917 that the Dominion Atlantic Railway purchased the site from Herbin, landscaped it, and erected a statue of Evangeline.

As the nineteenth century passed into the twentieth, changes in Nova Scotia as well as changes in taste began to erode the popularity of "Evangeline Land" as a tourist site. Part of the attraction of the Annapolis Valley and its environs had been the presence of the Acadians, a quaint, simple people, seemingly untouched by the evils of modern urban society. In 1884, Chase notes their traditional costumes and admires the women spinning. She comments on their "curious implements for games, totally unknown to us moderns", and hopes that the Acadians will never "become commonplace and uninteresting like our American peasantry". Thirty years later, these quaint people who had seemed a century or so behind the times had lost their charm. A 1915 guide book states that Acadians no longer spin or weave and little remains of their old costume.

It was not only changes in Acadian society which led to the decreasing popularity of Evangeline-inspired tourism. A more significant factor was a dramatic shift in fashion which took place after World War I. Wealthy Americans took the back-to-nature craze a step further; instead of simply admiring rustic peasants who

lived close to the land, they attempted to look like them. A tan became *de rigueur* and sun bathing and swimming were preferred recreational activities. This change in fashion reflects the reality of industrialized society, in which a sun tan physically demonstrated the difference between those who had wealth and leisure and those who spent long hours inside a factory. Nova Scotia's climate, with its previously admired cool breezes, was no longer *le beau ideal*.

Other changes in taste contributed to the declining interest in the "Land of Evangeline", one of which was the waning popularity of the poem itself. As well, shifting values resulted in a taste for "tougher folk" and a corresponding preference for wild and rugged landscapes. These ideals were manifested in other areas of Nova Scotia, such as Cape Breton, that continued to attract large numbers of tourists.

The Annapolis Valley and its environs had attracted thousands of visitors in the Victorian era because it perfectly reflected the taste of the period. Nineteenth-century love of sentimental narrative, and pastoral scenery peopled by rustic, but virtuous peasants was embodied in *Evangeline* and reflected in the landscape and people of Nova Scotia. That the Annapolis Valley lived up to these standards of beauty for more than fifty years led to its immense popularity with American tourists. Here they found a tranquil haven, touched by romance and nostalgia, where their souls and bodies could be restored.

The expulsion, from a nineteenth-century edition of "Evangeline". Longfellow's poem tells the tragic story of the expulsion of 1755 and of the unhappy wanderings in the United States of the maiden Evangeline in search of her lost lover Gabriel.

Vestiges of the romance of Evangeline have survived until today, even though the poem is no longer widely read. The memorial park at Grand-Pré, now a National Historic Park, still attracts thousands of visitors. To the Acadian people the park has a special significance. They have adopted Longfellow's fictional heroine as a symbol of their community's endurance.

Even though tastes have changed so that Longfellow's poem no longer draws tourists to Nova Scotia, a comment made by an *Evangeline*-inspired tourist almost one hundred years ago can still be applied to the province: "This is a land for poets and dreamers, for seers and idealists . . . this is an Enchanted Land". ♦

Sharon Ingalls is a writer who lives in Halifax, Nova Scotia.

IN the Acadian land, on the shores of the Basin of Minas,
Distant, secluded, still, the little village of Grand-Pré
Lay in the fruitful valley. Vast meadows stretched to the eastward,
Giving the village its name, and pasture to flocks without number.
Dikes, that the hands of the farmers had raised with labor incessant,
Shut out the turbulent tides, but at stated seasons the floodgates
Opened, and welcomed the sea to wander at will o'er the meadows.
West and south there were fields of flax, and orchards and cornfields
Spreading afar and unfenced o'er the plain, and away to the northward
Blomidon rose, and the forests old, and aloft on the mountains
Sea-fogs pitched their tents, and mists from the mighty Atlantic . . .

SISTER AIMEE

A Canadian Evangelist Took the Roaring '20s by Storm

by MICHAEL COLLINS

Three of the most famous North American radio preachers of the 1930s were Canadians. Father Charles Edward Coughlin broadcast with fervour his right wing politics from Detroit, Michigan, and William (Bible Bill) Aberhart used his popular "Back to the Bible" program to establish an electoral constituency in Alberta. Neither, however, could match Aimee Semple McPherson, the flamboyant Canadian evangelist who was the best known religious radio personality of the age.

Sister Aimee, as she was known to her thousands of loyal followers, once sped into her ornate Angelus Temple in downtown Los Angeles on a motorcycle dressed as a policewoman. She brought the machine to a screeching halt on the platform and leaped to the pulpit shouting to the congregation of over 5,000: "Stop! You are going to hell!" They loved the theatrics and thronged to every service.

Aimee was dynamic, colourful, charismatic and a passionate preacher whose private life provoked as much interest as her startling sermons. She founded the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel in California. It still thrives.

Aimee Semple McPherson was born "Amy" (she changed the spelling to the more exotic "Aimee" when she got to California) Elizabeth Kennedy on 2 October 1890 in a farm house nine kilometres south of Ingersoll, Ontario. She spent her childhood in an atmosphere of intense religious fervour. Her mother, Minnie Pierce Kennedy, second wife of James Morgan Kennedy and 35 years younger than her sedate Methodist husband, was a Salvation Army zealot who preferred the emotional religious practices of that neophyte faith to the subdued Wesleyan worship of Mr. Kennedy, a solid, hard working, quiet but intelligent farmer who was almost 50 when he married Minnie Pierce. Minnie was born in Lindsay, a farming community 150 kilometres from Ingersoll. When her parents died the child was entrusted to a Salvation Army couple who raised her in their faith.

In her early teens Minnie was hired as house servant to James Kennedy whose wife was ill. When Mrs. Kennedy died the young girl married James and settled down to life as a farmer's wife. She was fifteen years old.

Aimee, an only child, was born three years later. Minnie, or Mother Kennedy as she later preferred to be called, insisted that Aimee came to them because she promised to raise her to be a preacher.

The Macdonald-Cartier Highway (the 401) now slices through much of the countryside where Aimee Kennedy lived as a child. It was, and is, prosperous farming country where life was slow and monotonous with cows to be milked, chickens fed and chores done. For Minnie Kennedy this drudgery was broken by the excitement of the Salvation Army. The Canadian Sal-

vation Army had begun in London, Ontario, during 1882 and within months it had spread across Eastern Canada, arriving in Ingersoll on 1 July 1883 under the command of a woman with the most un-Protestant name of Mrs. Captain O'Leary. For Minnie Kennedy this exciting religion with its tambourines, marches, blaring cornets and drums brought much needed excitement to an otherwise drab life. It was to the Salvation Army, not the Methodist faith of her husband, that Minnie took her daughter Aimee for her religious upbringing.

Aimee, an intelligent and energetic girl, had a happy childhood down on the Kennedy farm. She attended high school 19 kilometres away in Ingersoll, travelling by horse in summer and cutter in winter. The girl won several public speaking contests sponsored by the Women's Christian Temperance Union and was in demand as an entertainer at school parties and weddings, but to the dismay of her parents Aimee flirted with worldliness by attending dances, reading novels and playing ragtime music.

The conflict between world and religion in Aimee's young soul came to a head over the theory of evolution. She agonized over this conflict between her parents' beliefs and the science taught at school. The answer for Aimee came in the form of a new preacher in town. Robert Semple was evangelizing in a converted store by the railroad tracks. Semple was a Pentecostalist who "spoke in tongues" and "healed" the sick. Aimee attended his services and was instantly captivated by the tall, dynamic man in his early 30s. When he cried "repent" he had a ready convert in young Aimee Kennedy who was caught up in a euphoric mixture of "born again" ecstasy and passion. Aimee fell in love with the preacher.

One night, stranded in a snowstorm in Ingersoll, Aimee stayed at the home of a Pentecostalist couple, experienced the "baptism of the Holy Spirit" and spoke in tongues. When her mother picked her up three days later the storm had subsided, but Aimee was still in a religious fervour.

Robert Semple left Ingersoll, but the couple continued to correspond and he asked Aimee to marry him so that they could go as missionaries to China. Semple, in his 30s, and Aimee 17, were married in the Kennedy farmhouse parlour and went to live in the railroad town of Stratford before setting out for China. By day Robert laboured as a blacksmith, preaching in the evenings.

The evangelization of China was the dream of countless starry-eyed Christian zealots at the beginning of the twentieth century. The mystery of the Orient as a land of silk and tea and women in bondage waiting liberation was too much for a couple schooled in the command of Jesus to "take the Gospel to the whole world." So to China they went.

Aimee Semple McPherson, aged 10, with her Salvation Army tambourine.

After a farewell preaching tour Robert and Aimee set sail, travelling by way of Ireland to visit Semple's aged parents. In China itself culture shock overwhelmed the young Canadians, but worse was to follow. Robert Semple came down with malaria and within a few days died, leaving a pregnant 18-year-old widow alone in an alien land.

Two months later Roberta Star Semple was born and Minnie Kennedy sent her daughter money to come home. She joined Minnie in New York where Mrs. Kennedy was working for the Salvation Army. For a year Aimee alternated between bouts of depression and spells of working for the church. She then married Harold McPherson, a decent but dull wholesale grocery clerk. A child, Rolf, was born to the couple, but the McPherson marriage foundered on the rock of Aimee's insistence upon independence to become a preacher. Aimee took the children and went home to mother, this time to Ingersoll. Four years later Harold divorced Aimee on the grounds of desertion.

Aimee Semple McPherson paid her dues in the business of envagelism. And a business it certainly was, with Aimee on the road preaching and Mother Kennedy at home looking after the accounts and the

Aimee (with sign), aged 8, with her school mates at Ingersoll, Ontario, 1898.

children. Aimee struggled from town to town around rural Ontario, living hand-to-mouth and often sleeping on the ground at night. She entertained and thrilled the small audiences as she was later to do with huge crowds in California and around the world — and Aimee stopped at nothing to get a crowd.

In Mount Forest she stood on a chair in the town square and bowed her head for a long time in prayer. When a curious crowd had gathered she jumped off the chair and shouted, "To the chapel!" instructing the ushers to lock the doors when the crowd had entered. Of course, no one wanted to leave. They wanted to hear this dynamo of a preacher.

Aimee bought a "gospel car" and plastered it with slogans such as "Jesus is coming soon — make ready" and "Where will you spend eternity?" She countered prejudice against women preachers with good humour and by simply ignoring the prejudice.

As her fame spread, Aimee realized that Canada could not give full scope to her ambitions and she branched out to the U.S. eastern seaboard, going as far south as the Bible Belt where she insisted upon integrated meetings. Aimee never entertained racial prejudice.

In 1918, aged 28, Aimee claimed to have had a dream in which God spoke to her. She was told to go to California where "I have prepared for you a house where you can raise your babies". So Aimee, her mother and her two children (Roberta was 9 and had never been to school; Rolf was a baby) trekked across the continent by automobile. They struggled over dirt roads, mountain passes and battled the gasoline shortages of World War I. Aimee conducted meetings along the route to finance their trip.

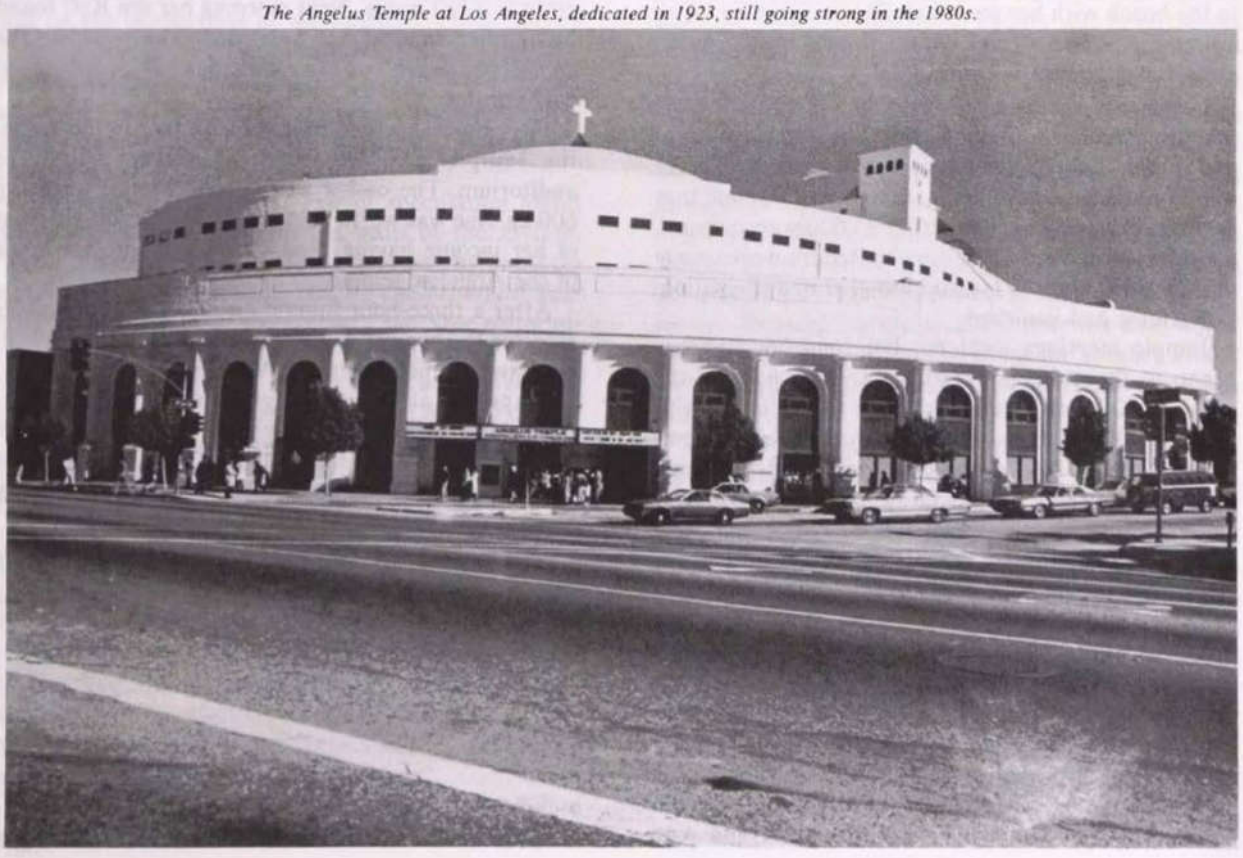
California was soon to be the dreamland of America. In the ten years from 1920 to 1930 1.2 million came to this mecca. Los Angeles often saw 2,000 arrive in a single day. California was also the home of Pentecostalism. It had its start in Los Angeles in 1906 when a group of black Christian women spoke in tongues. This became Aimee Semple McPherson's faith.

Aimee's beginning in Los Angeles was inauspicious. She preached in a dingy hall which uncomfortably seated 1,000. Within a week she had rented "in faith" the 3,500-seat Philharmonic Auditorium. Success was swift and money rolled in. Minnie looked after the coffers, because Aimee was a poor money manager. Wealthy admirers built a house for Aimee and her family and she soon became the most famous religious personality of the day. For example, there were

Sister Aimee preaching, 1927.

Sister Aimee with her children, Roberta and Rolf.

The Angelus Temple at Los Angeles, dedicated in 1923, still going strong in the 1980s.



astounding "healings" and excitement unmatched for years in San Diego where 35,000 turned out for a giant rally in Balboa Park.

Aimee also barnstormed around America and travelled to Europe where she filled London's Royal Albert Hall.

One morning, while driving around Los Angeles, Aimee came upon a vacant lot and again had a "vision" from the Lord. She dreamed of raising a church upon the site and in 1923, four years after arriving in Los Angeles, Aimee built the Angelus Temple at a then staggering cost of $1.3 million.

The facility was shaped like a football stadium, seated 5,400 and had facilities for counselling, social services and music. The Temple also boasted its own radio station and a Bible school. The Church of the Foursquare Gospel, of which the Angelus Temple was home base, was founded by Aimee, with Aimee and Minnie sole owners and shareholders. The weekly payroll was $7,000, a large sum in the mid-1920s.

Aimee was a superb publicist and everything she did and said was news.

Then came the mysterious disappearance of Aimee Semple McPherson. Aimee could milk any occasion for all the publicity it was worth and the controversy surrounding her disappearance provided the evangelist with abundant material.

On 18 May 1926 Aimee drove in her Kissell auto to the beach with her secretary, Emma Shaeffer, to go swimming. After a brief swim she sent Emma on an errand and promptly disappeared.

Lifeguards scoured the area, but no trace of the missing preacher could be found. The Temple congregation was in shock and Sister Aimee's disappearance was front page news. 5,000 gathered at the beach that evening and at a later gathering 25,000 were present. Search planes, boats and divers hunted for weeks while thrill-seekers and the faithful mingled in anticipation. But Aimee had vanished.

Temple meetings went on, but soon hot rumours began to fly and reporters became suspicious as the name of Kenneth Ormiston began to be linked with Aimee's. Ormiston was the radio operator at the Temple and he and Aimee had been seeing much of each other despite the fact that Ormiston was married.

On 20 June 17,000 attended a memorial service at Angelus Temple and $34,000 was raised to build a monument in Aimee's memory.

Then Aimee re-appeared.

She wandered into a Mexican town across the border from Arizona with the story that she had been chloroformed, kidnapped and held captive by two men and a woman. After being cruelly beaten she escaped and here she was — free — to meet the press.

Cynics were scorned by the Temple flock who believed every word of Aimee's story. A grand jury investigation took place in which Aimee was examined for perjury, interference with justice and conspiracy to perpetrate a hoax, but no charges were laid. The evangelist and the faithful were jubilant.

Underlying Aimee Semple McPherson's audacious publicity-seeking was a genuine concern for the poor which was manifested in various social-work programs operated from Angelus Temple during the Great Depression of the 1930s.

Migrants were pouring into Los Angeles without money, jobs or lodgings. Aimee organized two soup kitchens which fed 5,000 a day. At Christmas 12,000 hampers were distributed to the poor and free dental and prenatal clinics were established.

Mother Minnie's wedding to Guy Edward "Whataman" Hudson was a social event, as was the subsequent annulment. Aimee herself then eloped in a rented plane with David Hutton Jr. When that union also broke up, Hutton went on a barnstorming show-business tour as a crooner, attended by showgirls. He too then disappeared from the scene.

In 1936 Aimee fought with daughter Roberta and her associates for control of Angelus Temple. Roberta won, but a compromise was reached and for the remainder of her days Aimee remained at the Temple preaching and ministering to her congregation.

On 26 September 1944 Sister Aimee led a parade on a horse and buggy in Oakland and preached that night to a full house. Next morning her son Rolf found his mother dead in her hotel bed. She was 54. The cause of death was an accidental overdose of barbiturates.

Fifty thousand filed past Aimee's bier in the Angelus Temple. $10,000 worth of flowers filled the auditorium. The casket was of solid bronze weighing 600 kg. She was worth only $12,000 at her death, most of her income having been channelled into the work of the Angelus Temple.

After a three-hour funeral service 600 automobiles escorted the body of Aimee Semple McPherson to Forest Lawn Cemetery in Los Angeles.

A speaker at the service gave an apt orbituary for the publicity-conscious evangelist: "Today we are here to commemorate the stepping up of a country girl into God's Hall of Fame." ♦

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THE ASYLUM AT LONGUE POINTE

A Victorian Scandal

By Daniel Francis

In the fall of 1884, a sensational court case rocked Quebec. Alfred Perry, a well known Montreal businessman was petitioning for the release of his former housekeeper, Rose Lynam, from a local mental asylum. Lynam had been incarcerated for more than two years in the St. Jean de Dieu Hospital at Longue Pointe, but according to Perry she was being held against her will on the instructions of her husband. Perry alleged that the woman had been brutalized by the nuns who ran the asylum. He had tried to negotiate the release of Lynam into his custody, but when asylum officials finally banned him from the institution he took the case to court.

The Lynam case raised fearful speculation about what was going on behind the walls of the asylum. Were wards actually filled with healthy inmates imprisoned by scheming relatives? The *Montreal Star* seemed to think so. "The fact is", the *Star* editorialized, "there is not a person in this city, high or low, rich or poor, that could not by shrewd management and the liberal use of money be sent to Longue Pointe".

But the case had ramifications beyond the treatment, or mistreatment, of the mentally ill. Unhappily, incidents of patient abuse in mental hospitals were not that rare, either in Canada or abroad. What makes Rose Lynam particularly interesting is that her case added fuel to a debate already raging in Quebec politics between liberal elements who wished to modernize the province and conservative, Catholic forces who wanted to preserve the pre-eminent role of the church in social affairs. Defence of Rose Lynam was characterized as an attack on religious institutions and an insult to the French-Canadian "nation".

Mrs. Lynam had been admitted to the Longue Pointe asylum in April 1882, classified as an "erotic maniac". Apparently she had threatened her husband of 16 years with an axe and although her behaviour was perfectly normal in most situations she became furious and excited in his presence.

During the trial the resident physician at the asylum testified that he had examined the patient on admission and thought her perfectly sane. It was Alfred Perry's contention that Mrs. Lynam was nevertheless incarcerated because her husband had paid another doctor to certify her and keep her locked up. Rose herself testified that she was beaten by the nuns, handcuffed, stripped and left in solitary confinement for long periods of time, all charges which were admitted during the trial.

In December 1884 the court ruled that Mrs. Lynam should be released into the custody of Alfred Perry, her own family having refused to take responsibility for her. Perhaps the public alarm over her case would have died away at this point if not for another attack on the Quebec asylums which had burst into print that fall.

This time it was a noted British asylum reformer, Daniel Hack Tuke, who focussed attention on the horrors of asylum life. Tuke was the grandson of William Tuke, a Quaker tea and coffee merchant who pioneered the use of humane treatment methods at his York Retreat for the Insane in England in 1792. The grandson was carrying on his grandfather's work and visited Quebec as part of a North American tour of mental institutions. What he found astonished and repelled him.

Tuke first toured the Quebec Lunatic Asylum at Beauport, near Quebec City. Opened in 1850, it held close to 900 patients. In general, Tuke found it overcrowded, understaffed, dark, dank and depressing.

The lunatic asylum at Longue Pointe, from "Dominion Illustrated", May 1890.
The asylum was destroyed in a fire on 6 May 1890, with great loss of life.

Never had he witnessed such a free use of devices to restrain inmates. As he made his way to the upper storeys he discovered even worse.

"In the worst ward, the sight was in the last degree painful to witness", Tuke reported. "Here were some thirty patients. Some had leathern muffs, others the belt and poignet . . . One had his legs fettered at the ankles. There were also several men in restraint-chairs, to which they were fastened, and not only so, but they wore muffs. They were in their shirts, and over their exposed persons flies were crawling in abundance". One man, "who was given to scratching his face", was confined in a crib bed, little more than a cage, with his hands fastened in a muff.

Tuke moved on to the Longue Pointe Asylum which had been operated by the Sisters of Charity of Providence since 1875. Conceivably Rose Lynam was looking on as the distinguished visitor made his rounds. Once again he was amazed at what he saw. In a gallery above the fourth floor he found 80 men and women, the so-called "refractory" patients, living in conditions he had never witnessed in Europe or North America.

Inmates were segregated by sex. They passed their time pacing a narrow, airless corridor, sitting on wooden benches or reclining in their tiny cells. Many were shackled in handcuffs fastened to a belt; others were strapped onto benches or into their beds. The cells were lit by a small opening above each door and when the doors were closed the inmates communicated with the corridor through a wicket just large enough to allow a head to protrude. There were no windows in the cells and no lights. A wooden tub was padlocked to the floor in the corner for use as a night toilet. "What the condition of these cells must be in hot weather", reported Tuke, "and after being occupied all night, and, in some instances, day and night, may be easily conceived".

Passing into the female side he found that "the frantic yells of the patients and the banging against the doors constituted a veritable pandemonium. The effect was heightened when the guichets in the doors were unbuttoned, and the heads of the inmates were protruded in a row, like so many beasts, as far as they could reach. Into this human menagerie, what ray of hope can ever enter?" The women, like the men, were restrained by a variety of chains and straps and passed much of their time in solitary confinement. To make matters worse, Tuke discovered another 140 inmates similarly confined in the basement of the asylum.

Tuke concluded his report: "But it is amazing to reflect that although the superiority of the humane mode of treating the insane, inaugurated nearly a century ago, has been again and again demonstrated, and

has been widely adopted throughout the civilized world, a colony of England, so remarkable for its progress and intelligence as Canada, can present such a spectacle as that I have so inadequately described as existing, in the year of grace 1884, in the Montreal Asylum".

When Tuke mentioned "the humane mode of treating the insane" he was referring to a technique known as moral treatment which had come into vogue early in the century. Previously the mentally ill had been the responsibility of their families who placed them in private "madhouses" if they could afford it, or kept them at home if they could not. Those who got into trouble with the law were hidden away in dungeons or prison cells. Therapy was unheard of.

Moral treatment was supposed to change all that. In the early years of the nineteenth century, mental illness came to be seen as a disease that was curable in the right surroundings. What the poor lunatic needed was a strictly regulated environment where the deranged mind could find its own equilibrium. Ample exercise, plenty of hard physical work, cheerful amusements and a healthy diet — these were all part of moral treatment.

The asylum was created to provide a retreat where the mentally ill could be removed from the situation which had brought on their disease and healed in an atmosphere of kind concern. Canada's earliest asylum, which received its first inmates in 1836, was located in the basement of a cholera hospital in Saint John, N.B. Hard on the heels of this makeshift institution, asylums opened in Toronto, Quebec City, St. John's and Halifax.

Unhappily, the mental asylum soon betrayed the reformist ideals of its creators. Moral treatment required a system of strict classification, a manageable number of patients and a sympathetic staff. Instead, asylums soon overflowed with an inmate population that included epileptics, the retarded and the senile. Lack of space made classification difficult, the mildly depressed often mingling with the wildly frantic. Staff was ill-trained and poorly paid. Medical personnel were few and overworked. Inevitably, physical restraints were reimposed and the asylum became a repository for all manner of social outcasts. In a word, the hospital became another kind of prison.

But not all asylums were equally deplorable. According to Daniel Hack Tuke at least, Quebec hospitals were a special case, and he blamed their condition on a unique arrangement called the "farming-out" system. In the rest of Canada, mental hospitals were public institutions, operated by the government, but in Quebec asylums were privately owned. Patients paid fees and the provincial government "farmed out" those who

This photograph illustrates several of the restraint devices used in nineteenth-century hospitals for the insane, in this case a hospital in Prince Edward Island.

Prince Edward Island Archives

could not afford to pay by giving the proprietors an annual per capita grant. In 1884 this grant was $132 per patient at Beauport and $100 at Longue Pointe.

When Tuke publicized what he had found at the asylums he particularly singled out for blame the "farming-out" system. In his opinion, a system of private ownership was an abdication of public responsibility. Inevitably, matters of economy would take precedence over the quality of patient care.

Tuke's criticism was not a new one. Twenty years earlier a board of government inspectors had pointed out that as long as mental hospitals were privately-owned "it is plainly the interest of the proprietors or contractors to spend as little as possible on the food and maintenance of the patients, and to get as large a return as possible for them in the shape of labour . . ." The board warned: "A system can hardly be expected to work satisfactorily where the interests of the parties concerned are so essentially at variance.

In the 1860s this argument fell on deaf ears, but in the mid-1880s Tuke's *exposé,* combined with the Rose Lynam case, increased public pressure on the provincial government to do something about the asylums. Newspapers urged the abolition of the "farming-out" system. Doctors called for greater medical control of the institutions. And in the legislature, the Liberals under Honoré Mercier sniped away at the contract system and the cost of supporting public patients in the asylums.

The Conservative government of Premier J.J. Ross responded to this chorus of complaint in the spring of 1885 by introducing a law intended to bring the operation of the asylums under stricter supervision. The law had several provisions but the one which especially infuriated asylum owners created a medical board of three doctors, two appointed by the government and one by the owners, which would have authority over admissions, discharges and medical treatment. Provincial Secretary Blanchet made it clear in the legislature that the intention of the law was to relieve the owners of all responsibility for treatment and to place it in the hands of the medical profession. He acknowledged the criticisms of the "farming-out" system, but he argued that it was simply too expensive for the government to consider purchasing the asylums. The new law was the next best thing.

After passing the legislature in May 1885, the new statute quickly proved unpopular and unenforceable. Owners believed that the medical boards created by the law would usurp control of their institutions. After all, when treatment involved the meticulous planning of a total environment, how was it possible to distinguish treatment from administration? Furthermore, the proprietors feared that a medical board with control over admissions might decide to exclude senile and retarded patients, thereby cutting into the asylums' revenues. Because of their concerns, the owners simply refused to co-operate with the new law and members of the medical boards were not allowed to inspect the institutions.

Honoré Mercier, Premier of Quebec.

Asylum owners did not lack allies in their campaign against the 1885 law. At this time in Quebec, ultramontanism was a powerful force, not just in the Catholic church but in politics as well. Ultramontanism was a conservative, nationalist ideology which championed the power of the church over the state. In the political arena it was embodied in a faction of the Conservative Party known as the Castors. For the ultramontanists, the asylum law was an attack on the rights of private property and, in the case of Longue Pointe where nuns ran the asylum, a barefaced attempt to exert state control over religious institutions.

Bishop LaFleche of Trois-Rivières warned that once the asylums became government-run it was only a matter of time before the state seized control of the seminaries and the convents and the schools. "It is with this false principle of the all-powerful state that the French Revolution overthrew every religious institution in our Mother Country, France!" he thundered. According to the ultramontanist journal, *La Verité*, the government was attempting to make the asylum proprietors servants of the state and to hand over complete control of the asylums to the medical boards, members of which in years to come might be atheists, Jews, freemasons or Protestants. *La Verité* charged that ". . . never has our legislature proclaimed a principle as hateful, as subversive, as anti-social, as contrary to the

Archives of Ontario

Productive work was an important part of moral therapy for the insane. These women are working in the dress-maker's shop at the Asylum for the Insane, Brockville, Ontario, about 1900.

rights of private ownership, to individual rights, to the rights of religious institutions".

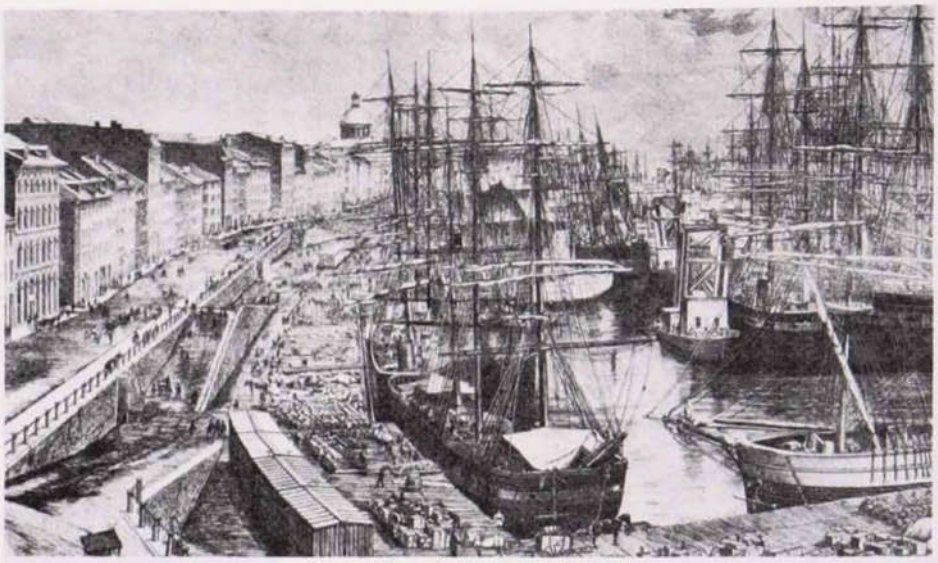
The ultramontanists believed that much of the prevailing criticism of the asylums was based on the muckraking of Daniel Hack Tuke, and they attacked the English outsider bitterly. He was a liar and a fanatic, declared the journal *L'Etendard*, inventing absurd stories about conditions in the asylums to pander to the prejudices of the ignorant. His report was "une insulte jeteé à la face de la population du Canada. . ." ("an insult hurled in the face of the Canadian people").

The most thorough refutation of Tuke was written by Joseph-Charles Taché, brother of the Archbishop of Saint-Boniface and a former inspector of the asylums. Admitting that Tuke was respected internationally, Taché nevertheless argued that the visitor was ill-informed, superficial and opinionated. Taché concluded that Tuke's assessment of the Quebec asylums was "a diatribe and an absurd wickedness". Obviously the Englishman was anti-Catholic since he recommended that the government operate the asylums, and Taché suspected that he was anti-French as well.

These charges were echoed in the public press where Tuke's descriptions, and the law of 1885, were characterized as part of a conspiracy of freemasons and socialists to make over Quebec society. The plight of the mentally ill had become embroiled in the politico-religious battle for the future of the province.

This is where things stood in January 1887, when Honoré Mercier took over as premier of Quebec, forming a Liberal government with the support of the Castor faction. As leader of the opposition, Mercier had raised Tuke's charges in the legislature and condemned the "farming-out" system. But as premier, he faced a delicate situation. Obviously the 1885 law was not working; quite possibly it violated contracts the government had previously signed with the owners. Mercier had to satisfy elements in his party who favoured, as he once had, outright public ownership of the asylums, while at the same time satisfying the Castors who righteously defended the private owners against all attempts to usurp their control. The Premier did what Canadian politicians invariably do in such circumstances; he appointed a royal commission.

The five-member Royal Commission on Lunatic Asylums in Quebec, chaired by Dr. J. A. Duchesneau, reported in 1888. Its conclusions were highly critical of the asylums, echoing in many respects the findings of Daniel Hack Tuke four years earlier. The report stated that the two major asylums were overcrowded, gloomy and filthy. Physical restraints such as straight



Montreal from the harbour, in the 1880s.

jackets, handcuffs and crib beds were used to excess, and even worse, the use of these instruments was left to the discretion of warders who were poorly trained, underpaid and largely illiterate. Commissioners had seen patients who clearly had been beaten. No treatment regime seemed to be in practise. Visiting physicians appointed by the government had no authority.

The commission recommended that both Beauport and Longue Pointe be brought under greater public control. It concluded that the 1885 law did seem to violate prior contracts between the government and asylum owners. In the case of St. Jean de Dieu, the government should renegotiate the contract, requiring more medical control and a larger staff. In the case of Beauport the commission thought that the government should buy it and allow a religious community to operate it "under the absolute control of a medical board". So, while condemning "farming-out" in principle, the commission did not call for its eradication in practise. Apparently, public ownership was unnecessary if medical control was assured.

The report of the royal commission did not solve Premier Mercier's political predicament. He himself was on record as an opponent of the "farming-out" system and a supporter of medical control. But his ultramontane allies opposed change. Their position was typified by L.P. Pelletier. Pelletier defended the asylums against their critics, claiming that so-called reformers were Protestant fanatics. Religious philanthropy was a Quebec tradition, asserted Pelletier, and anyone who questioned the ability and dedication of the nursing sisters was an atheist and a materialist.

Mercier was forced to compromise with this hard line. In effect, he shelved the report of the royal commission. He admitted that he had endorsed the 1885 law, but said that he had become convinced that the law violated the contracts between the owners and the government which had been signed prior to 1885. Therefore, no action would be taken to bring the institutions under greater public control.

Nevertheless, the premier added, he remained a friend of medical control and when the present contracts expired the new contracts with the asylums would stipulate that the government must have full medical authority. If the present owners did not like this condition, then the government would find more agreeable contractors.

And this, in fact, is what did happen, though Mercier did not survive in power to see it. In 1893 the Sisters of Charity at Quebec purchased the Beauport institution for $425,000 and signed a contract with the government agreeing to care for public patients in return for a per capita subsidy of $100. At Longue Point the nuns also signed a new contract. The controversy over the administration of Quebec's mental hospitals ended in compromise. Ownership of the institutions remained in private hands and the "farming-out" system continued, principally because the government was unwilling to spend the money to purchase the facilities. On the other hand, authority over the care and treatment of hospital inmates was given to medical doctors responsible to the government. ◆

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RIVALS AMONG THE BLACKFOOT

Jacques Berger, Fur Trader

By David Smyth

Jacques Berger led the winter 1830-1831 expedition which allowed the first successful American trading operation to be established in Blackfoot territory.

Altogether he had an active fur trade career which spanned more than 40 years from the time of his first engagement in 1803. During this period he was employed on the North Saskatchewan River initially by the North West Company and then after 1821 for a season by the Hudson's Bay Company.

Following several years as a freeman, he was connected with the Rocky Mountain trapping firm of Smith, Jackson and Sublette before finally being employed by the American Fur Company on the upper Missouri River in 1830. An *engagé*, of the labouring or servant class while on the Saskatchewan, he is never mentioned in Canadian fur trade histories, but his later significance is widely noted in American works.

Berger's experience on the Saskatchewan allowed him briefly to play the central role in the breaking by the Americans of the Hudson's Bay Company's monopoly trade position among the Blackfoot tribes. Thereafter he was an important, but not leading, figure in the Blackfoot fur trade of the upper Missouri. Berger's influence was significantly reduced and his fur trade career possibly brought to an end when he was ordered out of the Indian territory after his involvement in two unsavoury incidents in the mid-1840s, the first, the massacre of Blackfoot Indians at Fort McKenzie, and the second, the assault on a notorious fur trader, Alexander Harvey, at Fort Chardon.

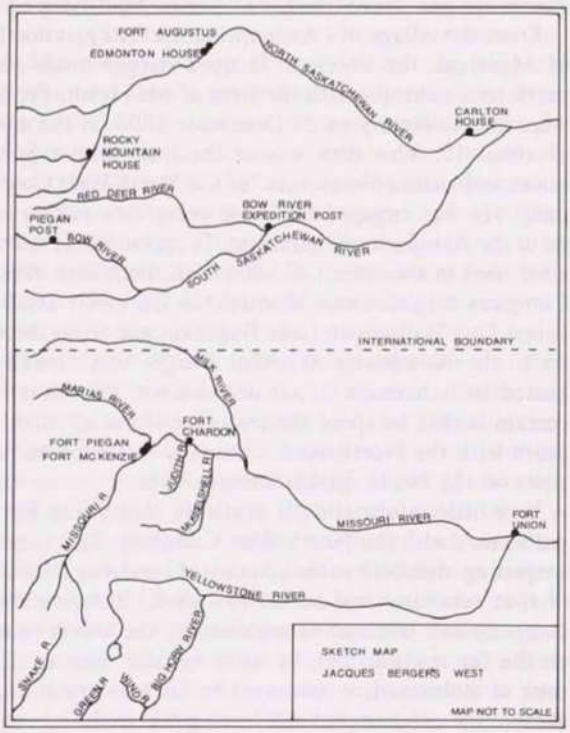
Some confusion has cropped up in published works of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries over Berger's name. All North West Company, Hudson's Bay Company and American Fur Company records examined list his Christian name as Jacques. However, in published secondary material he is most often referred to as Jacob. This probably arises from the 1840s court and government records following his assault on Harvey. In these records he is called Jacob Berger. Though the names Jacob, Jacques and James all derive from the same Latin root, it is surprising that in these judicial records in St. Louis, a city with a strong French heritage, his given name "Jacques" was not used. Other variations of his name in secondary sources include James Burger, Jacob Barger and even Jean Bergier.

From the village of l'Assomption, located just north of Montreal, the illiterate Jacques Berger made his mark on a contract with the firm of McTavish, Frobisher and Company on 23 December 1803, at the age of about 17. This firm was at the time "the supply house and virtual directorate" of the North West Company. He was engaged for three years as a *milieu* to go to the Athabasca department. He presumably travelled west in the spring of 1804 with the North West Company brigade from Montreal to the newly established Fort William on Lake Superior, and from there on to the Athabasca. Whether Berger was actually posted to Athabasca is not now known, but what is certain is that he spent the majority, if not all, of his years with the North West Company stationed at its posts on the North Saskatchewan River.

Very little information is available concerning Berger's years with the North West Company. This is not surprising, due both to the paucity of surviving records of that company and to his low rank. Entering the company as a labourer or middleman, the lowest rung on the fur trade ladder, by 1821 he had risen to the rank of steersman, a testament to his mastery of the skills of the canoeist, but still leaving him in the servant

class of the fur trade. From at least 1806 Berger was stationed in the Canadian company's Fort des Prairies department. This administrative region had its headquarters at Fort Augustus after 1795. The department stretched from the confluence of the North and South Saskatchewan rivers to the Rockies and from the Athabasca River to the 49th parallel. The Hudson's Bay Company equivalent was its Saskatchewan district, headquartered at Edmonton House, next to Fort Augustus.

Jacques Berger was almost certainly posted at Rocky Mountain House under David Thompson in the 1806-1807 season and there again during the 1810-1811 season under Alexander Henry the Younger. Both Thompson and Henry on several occasions mentioned a Berger in their journals, but neither noted his first name. One can be reasonably certain that Henry's and Thompson's "Berger" was Jacques Berger for a number of reasons. First, there is no record of any other Berger serving with the North West Company on the Saskatchewan. Second, Jacques Berger is confirmed in an 1811-1821 company ledger account book as being in the Fort des Prairies department at least as early as 1811. Finally, the American missionary, Father Nicolas Point, wrote that Jacques Berger had spent at least 21 years "in the forts of the North to which the Blackfeet used to go to trade", which statement, if even roughly accurate, would place him on the Saskatchewan in Thompson's and Henry's time.



During the 1806-1807 season Rocky Mountain House, the uppermost fur trade post on the North Saskatchewan, was serving as a base of preparations for Thompson's upcoming attempt to cross the Rockies. In Thompson's journal, between mid-December 1806 and late April 1807, Berger is specifically noted more than a dozen times. Twice that winter he was sent overland to Fort Augustus for supplies and with correspondence. However, his principal activity appears to have been to carry meat to Rocky Mountain House, both from the fort hunters' tents and from nearby Indian camps. After Thompson's departure in early May for the Howse Pass and the Columbia River, Rocky Mountain House was abandoned. Berger likely then made his annual round trip, travelling with the spring brigade down to Fort William and returning to the Fort des Prairies department in the fall.

Berger was probably at Fort Augustus during the 1809-1810 winter season. He was definitely in Alexander Henry's brigade in the fall of 1810, when Henry travelled upriver from Fort Augustus to reopen Rocky Mountain House, in a move designed both to placate the Peigan Indians (*Pikani*), who had just suffered a defeat at the hands of the Flathead Indians (*Salish*), recently armed through trading with the Canadians, and to provide an excuse to transport goods, intended for Thompson's Columbia endeavours, up the Saskatchewan. In Henry's 1810-1811 Rocky Mountain House journal Berger's name is variously spelled Beger, Begar and Berger. Henry took Berger with him in mid-October 1810, when he sought out Thompson, who had been stopped by the Peigans from proceeding up the Saskatchewan and over the Howse Pass to the Columbia. Henry located and quickly re-supplied Thompson, who then set off and crossed the Rockies to the Columbia via the Athabasca Pass. Rocky Mountain House soon settled into a quiet routine, with Berger's tasks mainly involving collecting meat from the fort hunters, hunting meat himself and hauling logs for new construction at the post. A break in the peaceful norm at the fort that season was caused by a rumoured imminent, but never materialized, attack by the Gros Ventre (*Atsina*), a tribe with a considerable history of violence against Saskatchewan traders. However, when some of these Indians did come in to trade they caused a little trouble. In Henry's words, they "were very insolent and pillaged a Blanket from Berger, and meat from others".

After this winter season at Rocky Mountain House Berger's precise whereabouts on the Saskatchewan are not known. His personal financial account with the North West Company has survived for the years between 1811 and 1821. The account simply confirms that he was posted in the Fort des Prairies department

during this period. Though the word "Free" was pencilled in after the 1821 entry, apparently indicating his leaving the company's employ at that time, another North West Company account book confirms that his contract did not expire until the summer of 1822. As will be seen, he remained an engaged servant until May 1822.

In 1821 ruinous competition between the two giants of the Canadian fur trade caused their merger in a newly reorganized Hudson's Bay Company. News of the merger reached Edmonton House and Fort Augustus on 6 August 1821, with the brigades carrying the season's outfit not arriving there until the last half of October, much later than usual. Berger was one of 19 ex-North West Company men who arrived on 22 October at Edmonton House in four canoes from Fort William. He was one of 60 men stationed at Edmonton House that season. Not surprisingly, with such an unusually large complement, provisions there soon were "getting very low". One solution to the food supply problem was to allow engaged servants to winter away from the fort. Berger and several other men were given permission to hunt furs away from Edmonton House that season. He spent the fall and early winter hunting and trapping and then most of January and February hunting buffalo for meat for the Company. He returned to his pursuit of furs in late February 1822. The following May the Hudson's Bay Company reduced its surplus manpower situation at Edmonton House by one, when "Berger, who has got Liberty to leave the service in order to be free, went off up the River to hunt beaver". He had severed his official ties with the Company though he would remain informally connected to it in the Saskatchewan district for the next five years.

During the 1822-1823 season the Hudson's Bay Company launched its Bow River expedition, both to employ its surplus manpower and to explore the potential of the South Saskatchewan River area. In the 1821-1822 season, after the merger, the Company had almost 2,000 North American employees. Two years later Governor George Simpson had managed to lower that number to about 1,300. In the fall of 1821 there were more than 130 Company servants in the Saskatchewan district alone, but by 1825 Chief Factor John Rowand had reduced that number to 53. The North Saskatchewan River had been over-exploited for years and the Saskatchewan district had shown a considerable financial loss in 1821-1822. If the rumoured rich fur resources of the South Saskatchewan proved themselves, the Company planned to abandon the North Saskatchewan altogether to allow it the opportunity to recuperate.

Chief Factor Donald McKenzie led the expedition of more than 90 men. Originally it was intended to send more than 300 men, 150 engaged servants and

Archives of British Columbia

Chief Factor John Rowand: Economies on the North Saskatchewan.

150 free trappers (ex-Hudson's Bay and North West Company employees), but the relative haste in the planning of this expedition and the slowness of long distance communication between the various districts within the Northern Department limited the number actually sent to under 100. This may actually have been a blessing in disguise, for the Company was aware of the possible violent negative reaction of the Blackfoot tribes to the incursion into their territory of such a large force of trappers. By the time Rowand had received word that Simpson wanted so many Saskatchewan freemen, they had dispersed throughout the countryside and could not possibly be regrouped in time. McKenzie was met on the lower South Saskatchewan by John Rowand and a party from the North Saskatchewan, including "Jacque Berger (Freeman)". McKenzie selected a site for a post just below the forks of the Red Deer and South Saskatchewan rivers. Though other forts had been planned, only this one was built. Two large parties explored the upper Bow and Belly rivers and the Marias River as well. However, no abundance of beaver was located. Besides the poor potential of the fur resources in the region, Blackfoot (*Siksika*), Blood (*Kaina*), Peigan and Gros Ventre Indians, in whose territory the post was located, visited the new establishment in numbers never before seen on the North Saskatchewan. They were more aggressive and demanding here than at the more northern posts, which bordered on the territory of their tradi-

Collège Sainte-Marie, Montreal

Jacques Berger, painted by Father Nicolas Point.

tional enemies the Cree (*Nahiawak*) and Stoney (*Nakota*). The lack of beaver and the sense of insecurity caused the Company to abandon the South Saskatchewan in the spring and return to the "North Branch". Berger passed the greater part of the season successfully trapping beaver near the new post, but also briefly hunted buffalo for meat for the Company.

Jacques Berger spent the next four years hunting and trapping, and living with the three Blackfoot tribes, the Blackfoot, Peigan and Blood (the three tribes who together then called themselves the *Nitsitapi*, and now the *Soyitapi*), and their allies, the Sarcee (*Dene*). In many ways his life must have been like that of two other ex-Company men, James "Jamie Jock" Bird and Hugh Monroe, who gave up the regimented life of the fur trade posts to live among these tribes. These three men undoubtedly knew each other well from their Company days on the Saskatchewan — Bird and Monroe were pre-merger Hudson's Bay Company servants — and from their later associations with the Blackfoot tribes. Berger was named by the Blackfoot *Âpikaiyi îstsîmokan,* or Skunk Cap.

During the winter of 1823-1824 Berger lived with Blood and Sarcee Indians, with whom he came to Edmonton House to trade his furs in March 1824. He had not been at the post since early October, when he and a few other freemen had apparently exchanged most of their summer hunt for rum, which, as the post journalist noted, "is the cheapest method of paying them for the Furs &c". He left with the Sarcees in mid-March, after they had conclüded their business at Edmonton House. Two years later, Berger and his family spent the spring and summer living and travelling with the Peigans.

By the fall of 1826 Berger's role in the Saskatchewan had changed. Since leaving the Hudson's Bay Company in 1822 he had hunted and trapped in the Saskatchewan district, taking his furs to Company posts in return for ammunition, traps and other goods which he required. Though he traded with the Company and though he may have briefly contracted to supply meat to the posts, as he had done during the Bow River expedition, he was a freeman who had no obligations to and received no direction from the Company. However, by 1826 Berger was reporting to Edmonton House on the activities and movements of the Peigan Indians and was being outfitted and directed by the Company to encourage the Peigans to gather furs for trade. In early September of that year the post journalist indicated, "Bérgere being equiped started for the Piegan Camp I sent word by him to the Piegans to work well that they would find some one at the [Rocky] Mountain House with more goods than they would be able to trade". Later that fall word reached Edmonton House via Rocky Mountain House, the principal Peigan trading post, that Berger and another freeman, Louis Brunais, were far off "along the skirts of the Mountains" with the Peigans and that expectations were high for a profitable trade from these Indians. There is no record of Berger's receiving compensation from the Company for this support, though the freeman "Jamie Jock" Bird did receive payment for apparently assisting the Company in exactly the same way as had Berger.

Berger remained informally allied to the Company until the summer of 1827. In September of that year three Blackfoot Indians arrived at Edmonton House and informed Chief Factor John Rowand of a radical change in Berger's allegiances. The Blackfoot told Rowand "that during their route last summer near the R. Mountains they saw a Party of American Trappers and that the freemen Berger and Brunais have joined them and used their endeavours to intice the Piegans who were then there to follow their example by representing the favourable offers which were advanced and by telling them that the Americans had made Peace with all the Indians except them, and were desirous of likewise becoming their friends and trade with them that they would never have cause to regret the change but on the contrary lament not having done so sooner". Later that fall Henry Fisher, the clerk in

Royal Ontario Museum

Paul Kane's painting of Fort Edmonton, from a sketch made by the artist of the fort in April 1848.

charge at Rocky Mountain House, confirmed that Berger had gone off to join the Americans. "Berger one of our indebted freemen has absconded and joined them with all the goods and Traps advanced him". The following year the Company was certain that it had heard the last of Berger when a rumour reached Edmonton House that either he or Brunais had been killed by "Slave [Blackfoot] Indians". The Hudson's Bay Company would soon regret that the rumour about Berger's untimely demise was unfounded.

The Americans whom Berger joined in the summer of 1827 were the Rocky Mountain trapping firm of Smith, Jackson and Sublette, an organization which was very successfully exploiting the fur resources of the western mountains. He apparently tied up in 1827 with Robert Campbell, the company's brigade leader who was then operating in Flathead country, west of the Rockies. Berger, a friend of the Blackfoot and their allies, would have been a welcome addition to this firm's ranks, either as an *engagé* or an associated trapper. He may well have played a part in the Blackfoot invitation to Smith, Jackson and Sublette to trade in the fall of 1827, a short-lived aberration in normal American-Blackfoot relations. When the company shifted its principal trapping operations east of the Rockies in 1828, and finally in 1829-1830 directly into Blackfoot territory, Berger would have been even more valuable, both for his knowledge of the region and as a potential safeguard against Indian attack. However, considering the best years of mountain trapping to be drawing to a close, after the July 1830 *rendezvous* in the Wind River Valley, Jedediah Smith, David Jackson and William Sublette sold out to a group soon to be known as the Rocky Mountain Fur Company and dissolved their partnership. Berger then headed for the Missouri.

Since the 1780s Saskatchewan fur traders had enjoyed unchallenged trade with the Blackfoot, Blood, Peigan, Gros Ventre and Sarcee, the five allied tribes who resided between the North Saskatchewan and Missouri rivers. Americans arrived late in this region and their initial contacts with the Blackfoot tribes were disastrous. In the summer of 1806 on their return from the Pacific, men of the Lewis and Clark expedition killed two Peigan Indians near the confluence of the Marias and Missouri rivers. The expedition members fled for their lives. Two years later, John Colter, a member of that expedition and then of Manuel Lisa's Missouri Fur Company, was travelling with a party of Crow (*Absaroke*) and Flathead Indians when they were

Montana Historical Society

Kenneth McKenzie, former North West Company man who managed the Upper Missouri Outfit for the American Fur Company in the 1830s.

attacked by Blackfoot. Colter's actions in defence of himself and his native companions only confirmed the Americans as enemies to the Blackfoot. This hostile attitude towards Americans persisted and any who dared enter Blackfoot territory, whether traders or trappers, did so at extreme risk. In 1810, a Missouri Fur Company expedition to Blackfoot territory cost the lives of eight men at the hands of the Blackfoot and Gros Ventre. Then, after more than a decade of American avoidance of Blackfoot territory, two St. Louis-based firms re-entered the region in 1823; the Missouri Fur Company lost seven men and fifteen thousand dollars worth of furs, while General William H. Ashley's and Andrew Henry's company saw four of its men killed and several wounded.

The rich fur resources of the Rockies and of Blackfoot country, as reported by Lewis and Clark, were the principal attractions in the West to American fur traders and trappers. However, by the late 1820s the Americans' two-pronged efforts to exploit Blackfoot territory had failed; Missouri River trading posts had not penetrated this region, and trappers, using the established Platte River access route to the mountains, who entered Blackfoot country from either the south or west did so at extreme peril. In one season in the early 1830s an American government Indian agent reported that the Blackfoot had killed "only" 18 or 20 American trappers, a number which was "not greater than usual". Earlier another agent had observed that the principal cause of Blackfoot hostility was the uninvited incursion of these trappers; no one had ever asked permission of the Blackfoot to enter their territory. Recognizing the value of the fur resource, the Blackfoot through this time repeatedly asserted both their intentions to continue to attack trappers but also their desires to have trading posts established among them.

John Jacob Astor's American Fur Company, the dominant company of the entire American fur trade, entered the Missouri country in 1822, with the creation of its Western Department with headquarters at St. Louis. This mammoth concern quickly devoured its smaller Missouri rivals. Among those firms taken over was the Columbia Fur Company, which was headed by Kenneth McKenzie, an ex-North West and Hudson's Bay Company clerk. The Columbia Fur Company became the Upper Missouri Outfit of Astor's Western Department, in 1827, with McKenzie at its head. He had plans to extend the American Fur Company's trade to the headwaters of the Missouri. In 1828 he ordered the construction of Fort Union at the confluence of the Yellowstone and Missouri rivers. Fort Union became the headquarters of the Upper Missouri Outfit and the base for future expansion. In 1830 McKenzie was ready to move farther up the Missouri and to attempt to break the Hudson's Bay Company monopoly in the Blackfoot trade. Jacques Berger was to be the instrument McKenzie used to accomplish this goal.

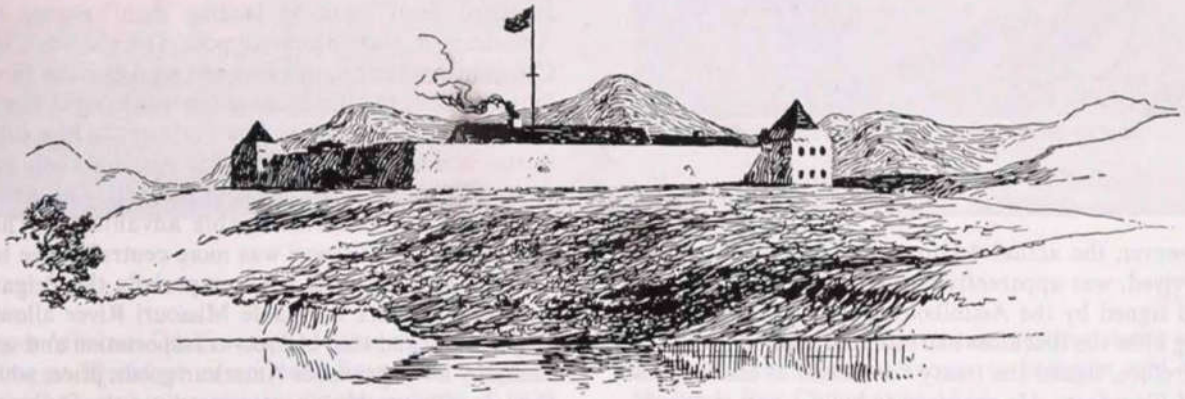
Previous American trading efforts had lacked personnel knowledgeable of, and known to, the Blackfoot tribes. By 1830 Berger had been living in, or on the edge of, Blackfoot territory for approximately a quarter of a century and was fluent in their Algonkian language. McKenzie engaged Berger, who had reached Fort Union by the fall of 1830, to lead a small conciliatory party of four or five men into Blackfoot territory. By sending Berger ahead of any trading party McKenzie was doing what other Americans had previously failed to do, asking permission before entering Blackfoot country. Despite the fact that Berger's party was called by some "the forlorn hope", both Berger's and McKenzie's political efforts were soon favourably rewarded.

No contemporary description of this 1830-1831 trip has survived and no two later accounts concur on the exact details. However, all versions agree on the overall story of the expedition. The description which follows, by James Willard Schultz, is one of the most vivid and reliable of this turning point in American-Blackfoot relations. Schultz, an adopted member of the Blackfoot tribe, emphasized the role of Bull's Back Fat, a principal Blood Indian chief, in the ultimate success of the expedition. This native leader was undoubtedly more open to this particular American overture because of recent Hudson's Bay Company admonishments prompted by his band's conduct at Carlton House, on

the North Saskatchewan. Once courted by the English, after the American Fur Company had established itself in Blackfoot country Bull's Back Fat was labelled a "vagabond" by the Hudson's Bay Company for his role in the loss of trade from the Saskatchewan to the Missouri. Schultz shed no light on how Berger ended up at Fort Union in 1830:

> Anyhow, there he was, the one man in all the Upper Missouri country who intimately knew the Blackfeet tribes and could speak their language. Mackenzie had little difficulty in inducing him to attempt to find some members of the Confederacy and bring them to Fort Union for a peace talk. Though it was known to be a very dangerous undertaking, five of the Company engagés volunteered to accompany Berger, and early in the fall of 1830 the little party struck out westward from the fort. They traveled

him and his party to Fort Union. With their women, they were seventy-two in all, and Bull's Back Fat was the principal chief. None of the members of the Blackfeet tribes had ever been so far east as the mouth of the Yellowstone, and after passing the mouth of Milk River, some of the warriors began to object to going farther. They did not believe that the whites had a trading-post at the mouth of the Yellowstone; they suspected that Berger was leading them to some remote point where they were to be ambushed by the Assiniboines or other enemies. Although Bull's Back Fat did all that he could to allay their fears, they became more and more surly and suspicious, and at last, when near Fort Union, threatened to kill the whites and back-trail to Badger Creek. It is likely that they would have made good their threat, in spite of the remonstrances of Bull's Back Fat, had not Berger told them that if he failed



HBC Archives

Fort Union on the Missouri, a drawing made by A.H. Murray during his service with the American Fur Company.

day after day without seeing Indians of any tribe, until, at last, fresh signs of them were found in the valley of Badger Creek, a tributary of the Marias Fork of the Missouri, close up under the Rockies. That evening, as usual in making camp, Berger set up a long pole to which was attached a large American flag. This was discovered by a party of early morning hunters from a near-by mixed camp of Pikuni, Bloods, and Blackfeet. They had never before seen the Stars and Stripes, but they considered a flag a signal of the peaceful intentions of its carriers, and, riding in, were pleased to find that the leader of the little party of whites was their old North friend, Âpikaiyi îstsîmokan (Skunk Cap).

Berger and his men accompanied the hunters to their camp, where they were well received, and after giving out the presents that he had for them, and after many talks, Berger induced a number of the chiefs and leading men of the camp to accompany

to lead them into the whites' fort on the following day, they were welcome to kill him and his men. At about ten o'clock the next morning, the party rounded a large cottonwood grove, and lo! there was the fort plainly in sight. Their approach was discovered, the flag was run up, and cannons boomed them a salute. Dressed all in his best and with a sword at his side, Kenneth Mackenzie came out through the big gateway and greeted them, led them into the fort, and lavishly entertained them, loading them with valuable presents. A few days later, he had no difficulty in getting them to make a treaty of peace with him, whereby it was agreed that he should establish a trading-post in some favorable locality in their country.

The peace treaty negotiated by McKenzie was not only between the American Fur Company and the Blackfoot tribes but also included the traditional enemies of the Blackfoot, the Assiniboine (*Nakota*).

Smithsonian Institution

Buffalo Bull's Back Fat, painted by George Catlin.

However, the actual document, a copy of which has survived, was apparently not drawn up by McKenzie and signed by the Assiniboine until November 1831, long after the Blackfoot had returned home. McKenzie, therefore, signed the treaty "on behalf of the Piegans and Blackfeet". He promised to build a post in Blackfoot territory before the end of the year. McKenzie quickly took advantage of this opportunity. He sent a clerk and four or five men, undoubtedly including Berger, with the Blackfoot when they returned upriver later that spring. In the summer McKenzie sent a party of about 40 men, led by James Kipp, by keel-boat up the Missouri River, where they then proceeded to build Fort Piegan near the mouth of the Marias River. Jacques Berger was the Blackfoot interpreter at the new post.

McKenzie was determined to take the trade of the Blackfoot tribes away from the Hudson's Bay Company. At this time the beaver trade of the Peigans was the most lucrative in the English company's entire North American domain. The Peigan trade, principally taken at Rocky Mountain House, was the major factor in reversing the dismal financial situation of the Saskatchewan district at the time of the merger. The late 1820s were the boom years for the district, with returns peaking in the 1828-1829 season at about 9,400 fine beaver pelts and £20,000 profit. Despite having to overcome a siege by Blood Indians late that winter, Fort Piegan's returns in its first year were higher than the American Fur Company could have expected and cut deeply into the Hudson's Bay Company's profits.

However, no plans had been made to keep the post open during the summer of 1832. When Kipp could not find sufficient volunteers to remain there while he travelled downriver to Fort Union with the season's returns, he was forced to leave Fort Piegan unoccupied for the summer. In his absence some disgruntled Indians, likely Assiniboine or Blood, burned the post to the ground. McKenzie was not deterred by this action. He sent David Dawson Mitchell to re-establish a post in Blackfoot territory later that summer. Mitchell built Fort McKenzie a few miles upstream from the site of Fort Piegan. Berger was again the Blackfoot interpreter at the post.

The Hudson's Bay Company soon learned that Berger had not died, as had been previously rumoured. Governor George Simpson, though somewhat garbling the name, reported to London that "Bercier, whom we supposed dead" was "a leading man" among the Americans at their Blackfoot post. The Hudson's Bay Company response to this first serious American threat to the trade of the Blackfoot tribes was to erect Piegan Post (sometimes known as Bow Fort) on the Bow River in the summer of 1832. Yet this new location, long desired by these Indians, was of no avail. The Americans held two insurmountable advantages. Their location on the Missouri was more central to the territory of the Blackfoot tribes, especially the Peigans. As well, the more navigable Missouri River allowed larger craft, and thus cheaper transportation and substantially lower prices for American goods, prices which the less efficient York boat network on the Saskatchewan could not possibly match. Piegan Post was occupied for part of two unsuccessful winter seasons from 1832 to 1834, before poor returns and the increased risk at that site caused the Hudson's Bay Company to retreat to Rocky Mountain House on the North Saskatchewan. Simpson admitted that in so doing the Company was conceding "that once valuable branch of Trade". So complete was the American domination of the trade of the Peigans that in later years the Hudson's Bay Company sometimes referred to these native people as the "American Indians". However, it did retain a significant portion of the Blackfoot, Blood and Sarcee trade, mainly taken at its Rocky Mountain House and Edmonton House locations. Berger was the key which unlocked the natural advantages of geography and location, advantages which previous American efforts had been unable to exploit.

Jacques Berger remained the principal Blackfoot interpreter at Fort McKenzie for years, though he may later have risen in rank. In the mid-1830s he was receiving a salary of $800.00 per annum. Though the

Royal Ontario Museum

Rocky Mountain House, oil painting by Paul Kane, 1848.

Upper Missouri Outfit soon had other men capable of acting as Blackfoot interpreters, Berger's was apparently the surest interpretation. In the summer of 1833 Prince Maximilian of Wied, a German nobleman, visited the upper Missouri River. He first encountered Berger at Fort Union before the interpreter was sent overland to Fort McKenzie in early July, ahead of the keel-boat carrying the upcoming season's outfit. Maximilian reached Fort McKenzie on that craft in mid-August. While there, besides witnessing an Assiniboine attack on the Blackfoot camp outside the fort walls, he also commented on a minor disturbance between a group of Indians and the traders at the post. "Soon there arose violent debates among the chiefs; and as Berger, the proper interpreter for the Blackfoot language, was absent, this circumstance, perhaps, increased the misunderstanding". Berger advised Maximilian on Blackfoot customs and language and during the prince's brief stay made one short excursion to encourage a large party of Blackfoot to come in to trade. Presumably over the years he made periodic trips from the post, some likely of considerable distance, to promote the company's interests among the Blackfoot tribes. It had been on one such journey that a Hudson's Bay Company servant had first encountered him and made Berger's continued existence and changed circumstances known to Simpson and the Hudson's Bay Company in 1832.

Berger may have made one trip of considerably greater distance than his forays to Blackfoot camps. In December 1834 he proposed a plan "to open the Trade with the Cootannaha's". Previous American Fur Company efforts to expand up the Missouri to its headwaters and across the Rockies to establish trade with the Kootenays (*Sanka*) had failed. The company's first attempt to initiate trade with this tribe, the traditional enemy of the Blackfoot, resulted in Blood or Peigan Indians killing the leader of the small expedition which had left Fort McKenzie in late August 1833. The Blackfoot tribes were as opposed to these American Fur Company attempts to trade with the Kootenay as they had been when they prevented David Thompson from travelling above Rocky Mountain House to Kootenay country in 1810. One 1834 proposal to try again to send American Fur Company men to "Cootannha Country" was abandoned. That same year McKenzie sent word to Mitchell at Fort McKenzie expressing his opinions on the Kootenay trade. "My present view regarding your posts are that it is best to remain tranquil & not strive to push the trade farther

Courtesy Amon Carter Museum, Fort Worth, Texas

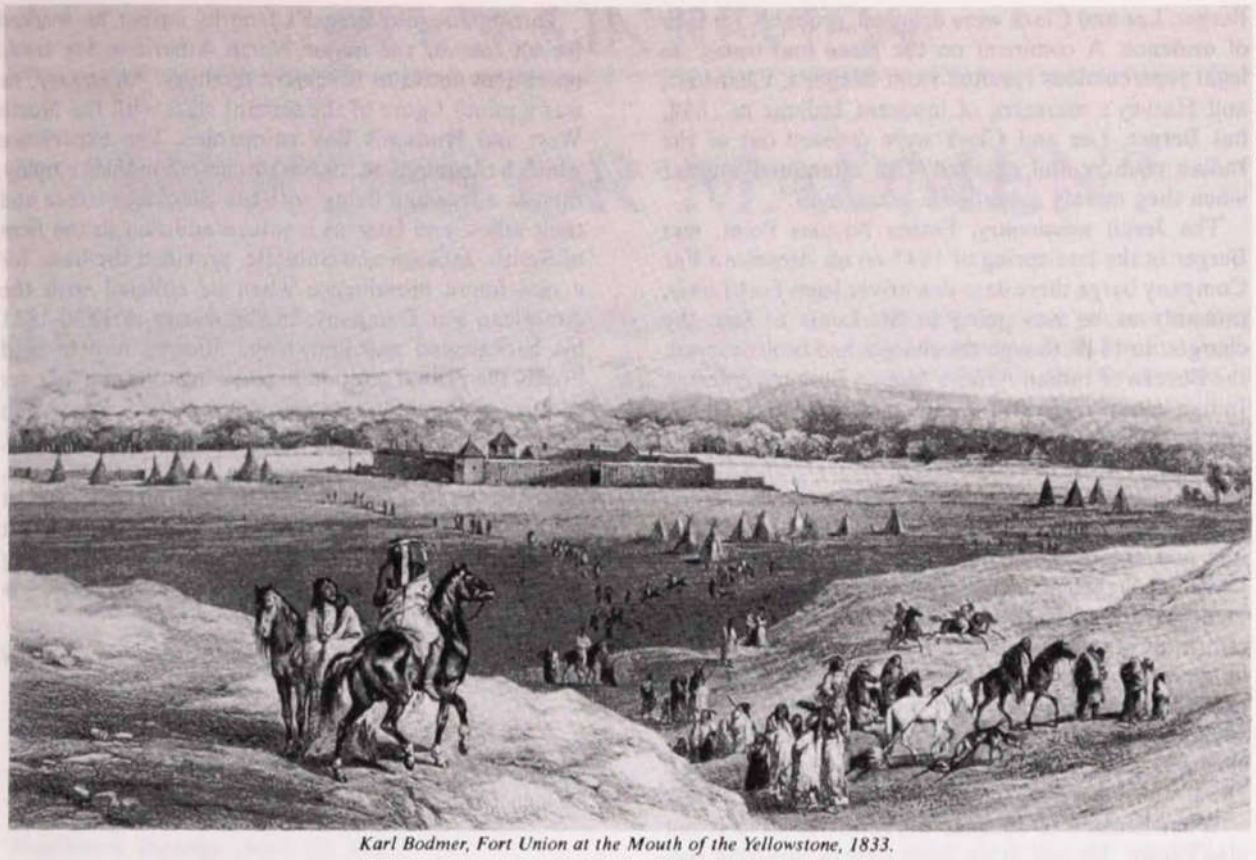
Attempted Massacre of Blackfoot at Fort McKenzie, a drawing by Charles M. Russell.

West until mutual confidence is established between A.F.C. & Indians Cootanaha trade will not pay risk & expence attending it. I prefer sedulously to court the good opinion of Indians around you for any seriously disastrous occurrence arising from too much risk or too little caution may destroy in a moment what I have been years building up".

Despite his reservations, McKenzie gave Berger permission to attempt to open trade with the Kootenays. His experience, reliability and record of success undoubtedly influenced the company's decision. Berger had had previous contact with the Kootenays, probably both when a freeman in the 1820s and then during his association with Smith, Jackson and Sublette. However, to minimize risk to the company Berger's summer 1835 Kootenay expedition was to consist of at most himself and one other man. Even with Berger's participation in this endeavour the company had limited expectations, considering the likely wariness of the Kootenays to venture so deep into Blackfoot territory. "It is probable that J Berger may not be able to prevail on the Cootannaha's to come to the Fort to trade even for the season after the coming one, but if a place of rendezvous be agreed on an Outfit could be sent from the Fort at a time agreed upon". It is not clear from existing records whether Berger was even temporarily successful in establishing the Kootenay trade out of Fort McKenzie, though it is highly unlikely that the Blackfoot tribes would either have allowed the Kootenay, in whatever numbers, to travel unmolested to and from that fort, or have permitted company men to trade regularly out of Fort McKenzie with these transmountain Indians.

By the mid-1840s Berger had spent some 40 years in the fur trade and was often referred to by his colleagues as "old man Berger" or "Old Berger", terms quite appropriate for a man then in his late fifties. However, he remained a valuable asset to the company in the Blackfoot trade at Fort McKenzie until an unfortunate incident forced the abandonment of that long-established and successful post.

On 19 February 1844 Berger assisted Francis A. Chardon, who had charge of the post, and Alexander Harvey in the slaughter of innocent Blackfoot Indians at the gates of Fort McKenzie. Though details of the notorious incident vary in the several secondary accounts, the actions of the fur traders involved were, without question, unpardonable. When a black slave belonging to Chardon was killed by Blackfoot Indians in January 1844, he vowed revenge. However, he was indiscriminate in his selection of victims. He somehow convinced Harvey and Berger to join him in attacking the next band of Blackfoot Indians to come in to trade, whatever band it might be. When some Blackfoot came



Smithsonian Institution

Karl Bodmer, Fort Union at the Mouth of the Yellowstone, 1833.

to the fort in February, the three men gathered them outside the entrance. The gates were then opened and the cannon, loaded with shot, was fired at the unsuspecting visitors. Anywhere from six to thirty were slaughtered that day. It is hard to imagine what could have prompted Berger, with his long-standing friendly relationship with the Blackfoot tribes, to join the two others in this act of barbarism.

The immediate result of the massacre was the abandonment of the fort by the company and its replacement by a new post, Fort Chardon, downstream at the mouth of the Judith River. The Blackfoot burned Fort McKenzie to the ground. In 1845 the company returned to Blackfoot territory, erecting Fort Lewis near the ruins of Fort McKenzie, and quite surprisingly was not greeted by any retaliatory actions. Many of the Blackfoot survivors of the massacre, who were led by Old Sun, Big Sun, Bull Sitting Down and Heavy Runner, did not return to trade on the Missouri for more than a decade. Chardon, Harvey and Berger faced no charges whatsoever for their atrocious act.

Alexander Harvey was a particularly vicious man who had a long history of brutality and violence against his fellow fur traders and their native customers. In the summer of 1845, just below Fort Chardon, three of his colleagues sought to even old scores. Despite, or perhaps because of, the fact that he had participated with Harvey in the massacre at Fort McKenzie, Berger was one of the men now out to get him. Berger, James Lee and Malcolm Clark attacked Harvey, apparently with a hatchet, rifle butt and pistol, and beat him severely before he managed to escape and flee to Fort Chardon. It is unclear whether they planned to kill him, though Harvey had no doubts of their intentions. He quickly made off for St. Louis, where he brought charges against his assailants. The American Fur Company attempted to buy off Harvey and quash the charges against Berger, Lee and Clark, but to no avail. In April 1846 the three were indicted by a grand jury at St. Louis. The Superintendent of Indian Affairs there sent instructions to the Indian agent for the upper Missouri region, stating that "James Lee, Malcolm Clark and Jacob Berger, have attempted the murder of an American citizen, Alex Harvey; you are hereby required to order the above named persons out of the Indian country forthwith".

In order to protect its three employees, the American Fur Company reassigned to distant posts five other of its men who had been called to St. Louis as witnesses in the case. In early April 1847 the charges against

Berger, Lee and Clark were dropped, probably for lack of evidence. A comment on the place and times, no legal repercussions resulted from Berger's, Chardon's and Harvey's massacre of innocent Indians in 1844, but Berger, Lee and Clark were ordered out of the Indian country and charged with attempted murder when they merely assaulted a white man.

The Jesuit missionary, Father Nicolas Point, met Berger in the late spring of 1847 on an American Fur Company barge three days downriver from Fort Lewis, probably as he was going to St. Louis to face the charges. In 1848, though the charges had been dropped, the Bureau of Indian Affairs' ban on Berger's entering Indian country was still in effect. He was in St. Louis and anxious to return to Blackfoot territory. Berger's opportunity arose in Father Pierre-Jean DeSmet's plans to establish a mission and school for the Blackfoot. DeSmet wanted Berger as his interpreter. Berger solicited and obtained the written support of both David Dawson Mitchell and Kenneth McKenzie in his attempt to be permitted back into the Indian country. Their efforts were successful. The Bureau withdrew its ban on Berger in September 1848. However, DeSmet was unsuccessful in his efforts to raise adequate financial support to build his mission. The first Blackfoot mission was not finally established by the Jesuits until 1859.

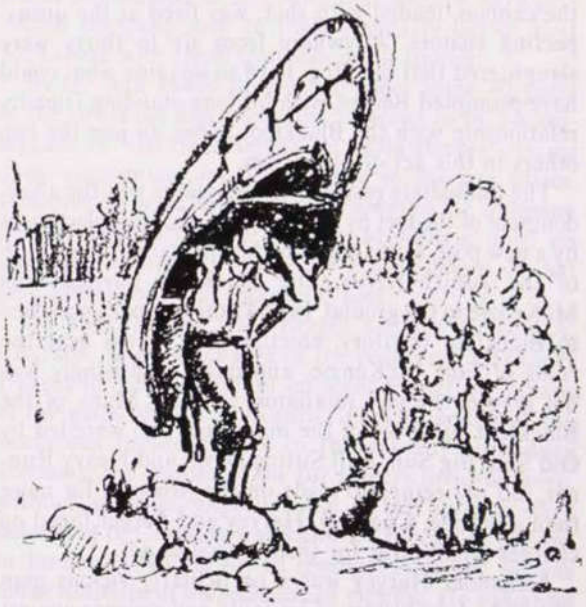
What became of Jacques Berger after 1848 is not now known. He just drops from view in surviving records. With the ban lifted, he probably returned upriver to Blackfoot country. Where and how he lived after this and when he died remains a mystery.

Almost nothing is known of Jacques Berger's personal or family life. In 1815 near Edmonton House he and his wife, the mixed-blood Cecile Dumont, had a daughter, Rose Berger. However, he apparently lost touch with this family, for in 1885 Rose was living at Edmonton, but she did not then even know her father's first name. In 1824, the Edmonton House post journalist noted the death of a child, the offspring of an unnamed woman, probably Cecile Dumont, and her former husband, Jacques Berger. Two years later Berger was back at that post with another unidentified wife and his mother-in-law. Berger had obviously remarried according to the custom of the country at least once and may even have been polygamous, as was the practice among the Blackfoot tribes with whom he so frequently lived.

Jacques Berger may be related to the mixed-blood family of Pierre Berger, who founded Lewistown, Montana, in 1879. However, the Pierre Berger family, apparently originally from Pembina before moving farther westward, is more likely descended from a Joseph Berger, presumably a French Canadian, who was active in the fur trade in the Red River region from at least as early as 1804.

During Jacques Berger's lengthy career he worked for all four of the major North American fur trade operations active in Blackfoot territory. An *engagé*, he was a minor figure of the servant class with the North West and Hudson's Bay companies. The experience which he acquired on the Saskatchewan in their employ, then as a freeman living with the Blackfoot tribes and their allies, and later as a valued addition to the firm of Smith, Jackson and Sublette, provided the basis for a new-found prominence when he enlisted with the American Fur Company. In the winter of 1830-1831 his background and knowledge allowed him to hold briefly the pivotal position in reversing almost a quarter century of Blackfoot antagonism to Americans. As an interpreter at Fort Piegan and then Fort McKenzie, Berger remained an important, if not high ranking, figure in the Blackfoot fur trade, until his involvement in the 1844 Blackfoot massacre and the 1845 assault on Alexander Harvey brought his career and life among the Blackfoot tribes at least to a temporary halt. ◆

David Smyth is a historian with the National Historic Parks and Sites Directorate in Ottawa.



HEROES OR MADMEN?

THE ARCTIC GRAIL
The Quest for the North West Passage and the North Pole 1818-1909

By Pierre Berton. McClelland and Stewart, Toronto, 1988. 672 pp., maps, illus. $29.95.

By William Barr

Pierre Berton's name has become almost a household word in Canada, and indeed throughout the English-speaking world, as a result of his numerous excellent popular histories of aspects of Canadian history. Hence this reviewer was delighted at the prospect of reading his latest work in which he attempts in a single volume to tell, in some detail, the stories of the search for the Northwest Passage (with the subplot of the search for the missing Franklin expedition) and the quest for the North Pole.

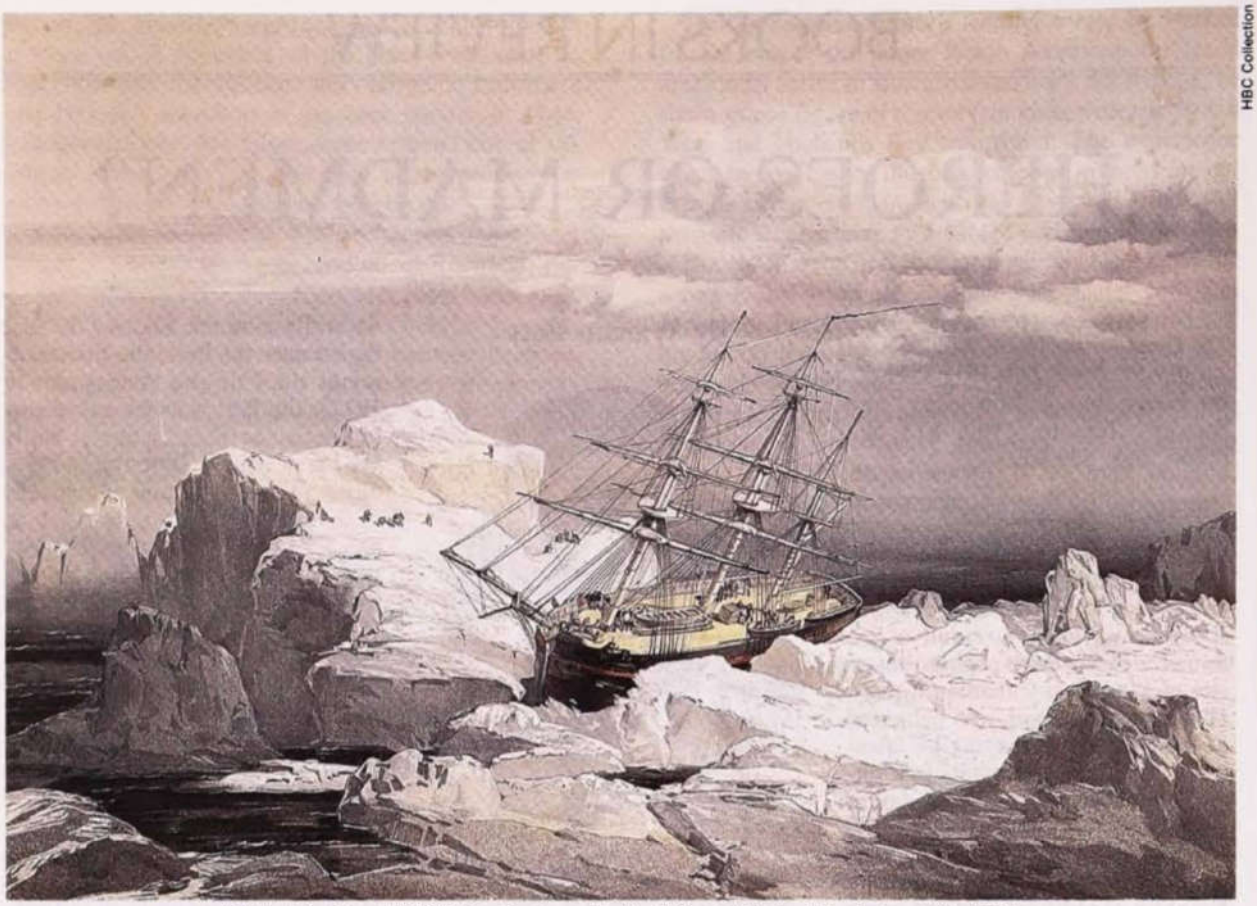
An uncritical assessment of the book might be that Berton has scored yet another triumph. As he himself says it "is a book as much *about explorers* as it is about *exploring*", and the word pictures which he paints of the fascinating and varied characters which polar exploration seems to attract are masterly. No previous author, for example, has related so grippingly the details, sometimes bizarre, sometimes poignant, of the wretched winter spent by Commander Greely and his companions at Cape Sabine in 1883-84. And this is only one of the innumerable fascinating subplots of a story which Berton has crafted into an impelling fabric.

But when one examines the content of the book in detail, one realizes that the task which Berton has attempted is beyond even his talents. Each of the twin topics, the search for the Northwest Passage or the quest for the North Pole would have provided more than enough material for a book in its own right; there is simply too much here for a single volume.

Adolphus Greely, from "The Arctic Grail".

As the book stands, Berton has tackled only the mid-section of each story. The account of the quest for the North Pole begins considerably earlier than the voyage of the *Trent* and *Dorothea* in 1818 (the first attempt related, rather sketchily by Berton). The first serious attempt at the Pole was conceived by M. V. Lomonosov and mounted by V. Y. Chichagov from Svalbard in 1765 and 1766. A few years later John Constantine Phipps mounted the Royal Navy's first attempt in H.M.S. *Racehorse* and *Carcass*, also from Svalbard, in 1773. At the other end of the story Berton leaves the thread of the narrative dangling, having argued very convincingly (and as even the National Geographic Society has recently been forced to admit) that Robert Peary *could not have reached the Pole* in 1909. The story should therefore naturally continue, to cover the first flights over the Pole, the first landing at the Pole (by Vodopyanov in 1937), the first over-ice expedition to reach the Pole (namely Wally Herbert's British Transarctic Expedition in 1968-69) and the voyage of the first surface ship to reach it, namely the Soviet icebreaker *Arktika*, in 1977. Such an expanded treatment covering the full history of the quest for the North Pole would, naturally, also have to deal with the later unsuccessful attempts; one thinks particularly of Georgiy Sedov's forlorn, even suicidal, attempt at reaching the Pole from Zemlya Frantsa Iosifa (Franz Josef Land) in 1914.

Berton has similarly truncated the story of the search for the Passage. He makes passing mention of Frobisher, Davis, Baffin, Bylot, Foxe and Middleton in setting the stage for where he picks up the narrative, *i.e.* at John Ross's expedition of 1818, but each of these attempts merits full and detailed treatment. This would apply especially to Christopher Middleton's attempt in 1741-42, if only for the bizarre battle in which he found himself embroiled with his sponsor Arthur Dobbs on his return; the latter for his own reasons had decided that Middleton had indeed found the Passage (via Wager Bay) but was deliberately suppressing the fact because he was being bribed to do so by his former employer, the Hudson's Bay Company. This is a story that certainly merits Berton's skills. But apart from these expeditions to which Berton makes passing mention, there are the many early attempts which are not mentioned, each equally as fascinating as those of the period on which Berton has concentrated; one thinks, for example, of Jens Munk's disastrous wintering at Churchill in



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"Critical Position of H.M.S. Investigator on the North Coast of Baring Island, August 20, 1851".

1619-20; Thomas James's almost equally disastrous wintering on Charlton Island in 1631-32; and the miserable denouement of James Knight's expedition on Marble Island in 1719-21, a denouement which none of the expedition members survived.

Just as with the story of the North Pole, the story of the Northwest Passage cannot be considered to have ended with Roald Amundsen's successful voyage in the *Gjoa* in 1903-06. Henry Larsen's voyages through the Passage in the *St Roch* in 1940-42 and 1944 certainly deserve detailed treatment, if only because the latter was the first voyage through the Passage in a single season. One could also argue that the voyage of the *Labrador* in 1954 and that of the *Manhattan* in 1969 merit inclusion as being the first successful attempts made by a modern icebreaker and by a commercial vessel respectively.

With regard to both stories, a detailed examination reveals that the level of treatment and the depth of detail is enormously variable from one expedition to another. We are treated to excessively protracted accounts of Hayes' and Hall's egotistical antics while other major, significant expeditions are mentioned only in passing. They include the trip down the Back River in 1855 by Stewart and Anderson, Schwatka's workmanlike search for Franklin remains or records in 1878-80 (which brought back the important piece of information, derived from a first-hand informant, that the Inuit had found Franklin's records in a tin box at Starvation Cove, but that they had been thrown away as being worthless, or given to the children to play with), Sir Allen Young's two expeditions aboard *Pandora* in 1875 and 1876, and Howgate's ambitious plans for a "colony" at Lady Franklin Bay, Ellesmere Island, which gave rise to a preliminary expedition led by Captain Tyson, wintering in Cumberland Sound in the *Florence* in 1877-78, and out of which the Greely expedition emerged. This list should also include the numerous attempts at the Pole from Zemlya Frantsa Iosifa (Franz Josef Land), starting with that of the Austrians Weyprecht and Payer in 1872-74, and including those of the Englishman Frederick Jackson (1894-97), the American Walter Wellman (1898-99), the Duke of the Abruzzi (1899-1900), and the American Fiala (1903-05).

Then there are the expeditions of which Berton makes no mention at all. Although making occasional references to fears of Russian competition in conquering the Northwest Passage in the early nineteenth century, he completely ignores three serious attempts mounted by the Russians, namely those of Kotzebue

aboard *Ryurik* in 1816, Vasily'ev aboard *Otkrytiye* in 1820 and again in 1821, and *Kashevarov* in 1838.

Enough has been said to make the point that to do both stories justice Berton should have tackled two interlocking books, rather than a single volume.

As is invariably the case with Berton's work, the writing generally shows clear evidence of thorough background research. There is, however, one disturbing exception. Berton does not appear to understand sea ice, a topic that is of crucial significance to his subject. For example there is no mention of the North Water, the semi-permanent open-water area located in northern Baffin Bay which dictated the routes of whaling ships and exploring ships bound for the east end of the Northwest Passage and which, if any one physical factor was to blame, was the cause of the deaths of Greely's companions at Cape Sabine since it was the northern end of the North Water and not simply "a lead of open water" (p. 469) which thwarted Greely's attempts at reaching the depot on Littleton Island on the other side of Smith Sound.

In general, Berton's usage of ice terminology is rather casual; as a specific example icebergs appear in the most unlikely places in his narrative. Thus he describes McClure's *Investigator* being squeezed by "huge bergs, three times as big as the ship" (p. 221) in Prince of Wales Strait in September 1850. This description is clearly derived from Miertsching's account, but Miertsching, fully familiar with icebergs from his years on the Labrador coast, did not make the mistake of confusing heavy multi-year floes with icebergs.

Given the general thoroughness of the research, the few obvious mistakes stand out all the more glaringly and are all the more puzzling. An example is the inaccurate statement that "[Lt. Bedford] Pim had visited Siberia, met the Russians, and lived with the natives on the Asiatic coast" (p. 246). One suspects that Berton has been led astray by the fact that Pim made a sledge journey from *Plover*'s winter quarters in Kotzebue Sound across the Seward Peninsula to Mikhailovskiy and back in March-April, 1850. On that trip he certainly met Russians and lived with the natives, but in Alaska, not Siberia.

With reference to Captain Richard Pike, the Newfoundlander who commanded Greely's ill-fated supply ship *Proteus*, Berton correctly states that he was a veteran of forty years of sealing (p. 450); but a few pages later (p. 454) Pike becomes "a veteran of forty years of Arctic service" when in fact the forty years of service was spent largely in the ice off Newfoundland. A similar minor, but incontrovertible mistake is the statement that when *Gjoa* called at Beechey Island in 1903 there were three grave markers on the beach (p. 536); there were in fact four, the graves being those of the three members of the Franklin expedition who died in the winter of 1845-46 and that of Thomas Morgan of the *Investigator*, who died here in May 1854 having survived the long trek from Mercy Bay on northern Banks Island.

Perhaps the worst mistake, because it belittles one of the most impressive achievements in the long story of the quest for the North Pole (and the first successful attempt at reaching it over the sea ice), is the statement (p. 624) that all attempts at the Pole since Peary's time "have been one-way trips, the participants airlifted out when they reached their goal". The one conspicuous exception was Wally Herbert's successful British Transarctic Expedition which travelled by dog sled from Point Barrow, Alaska, via the Pole to the northern islands of Svalbard in 1968-69. Herbert's is the only expedition to have travelled by dogsled right across the Arctic Basin.

As an account of the highlights of selected periods from the histories of the search for the Northwest Passage and the quest for the North Pole, Berton's book is an enormous success. He presents the major events and achievements of the different expeditions, and especially the idiosyncracies and foibles of their participants in a lively, readable style. But the author owes it to the uninformed reader to indicate more clearly that he has been very selective in his treatment and that neither story is complete. The greatest pity is that the twin topics would have lent themselves superbly to a two-volume set, a format with which Berton has already demonstrated his skill.

William Barr is Professor and Head, Department of Geography, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon. He has contributed numerous articles on Northern exploration to "The Beaver" and other journals.

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Hero or Fraud?

By Tom Saunders

BILLY BISHOP
Canadian Hero

By Dan McCaffery. James Lorimer and Co., Toronto, 1988. 227 pp., illus. $24.95.

Unlike Americans, who love to build up their folk heroes until they become larger-than-life characters (they do this even for some of their most notorious rascals like the James brothers), Canadians have a tendency to denigrate anyone who even savours of the heroic. Louis Riel has both his admirers and detractors, and Laura Secord is known to most Canadians today chiefly as the name of a brand of chocolates. Among modern Canadian folk heroes the only two who so far have remained unscathed are Terry Fox and Rick Hansen.

It is not surprising, therefore, that Billy Bishop, Canada's World War I flying ace, has come in for some "hero-bashing". There were those who viewed Bishop's exploits with a jaundiced eye even at the height of his fame in 1917-18, but we have had to wait till the 1980s for a more public and concentrated effort to "do him in".

It was left to the National Film Board, however, through its 1982 documentary, *The Kid Who Couldn't Miss*, to suggest openly that Bishop was a monumental fraud who didn't deserve his Victoria Cross.

Not unnaturally, the documentary aroused a storm of controversy. It was applauded by those who have a penchant for hero-bashing and condemned by near-hysterical veterans groups. Dan McCaffery's book is an honest attempt to get at the truth of the matter; and, despite the fact that he portrays Bishop "warts and all", both as person and pilot, Billy comes out of it rather well.

McCaffery admits that Bishop undoubtedly claimed "kills" for which there was no third-party confirmation. But this was true also of the great British ace, Albert Ball; and even the foremost of German flyers, Baron von Richthofen (The Red Baron), had many "kills" unsubstantiated by third-party corroboration. McCaffery quotes military records to prove his point.

The real hero-bashing in the NFB documentary, however, was its suggestion that Bishop never made his much-publicized raid on Estourmel Aerodrome, the exploit for which he received the Victoria Cross. The inference was made that, instead of flying to the aerodrome, he landed behind allied lines and used his own machine gun to shoot holes in his plane. The reasons given to support this view were that Bishop's machine gun was missing when his plane was inspected later, and that some bullet-holes in the aircraft were suspiciously close together.

McCaffery refutes this theory. Even to hint at such a possibility, he declares, is not only to dishonour Bishop but to fly in the face of the preponderance of evidence. He cites a number of reasons in confirmation of the fact that the attack actually took place. Among them:

(1) The evidence of the chief mechanic of Bishop's squadron. He reported that Bishop's machine was "badly damaged by enemy anti-aircraft guns and machine gun fire"; and, while it is possible that Billy could have inflicted bullet holes on his own plane, using his Lewis machine gun to do so, he "obviously could not have produced the shrapnel damage caused by anti-aircraft cannons".

(2) American historian and World War I pilot, Arch Whitehouse, who came to know many German

airmen, quoted German aviation authorities as admitting that Bishop had indeed attacked one of their aerodromes.

(3) A fellow-pilot, Willy Fry, wrote that Bishop had asked him to come along on the mission twice — once the night before, and again at dawn before takeoff. McCaffery comments: "Surely a man planning a fake attack would not be inviting others to come with him — right up to the point of take-off".

(4) Canadian cavalry Captain George Stirrett was with a group of Allied soldiers who took prisoner the crew of a German two-seater. Recalling the incident in a 1981 interview, he said: "The observer (in the two-seater) told me that Bishop was well-known to the German airmen and that his airfield attack had been the talk of the whole German air force. He said that Bishop had shot down three planes (as he had claimed) and that two of the pilots had been badly shaken up". McCaffery adds: it is "important to note that Stirrett made his remarks before the Bishop controversy became public".

(5) Perhaps most significantly, French civilians living adjacent to Estourmel Aerodrome saw the whole thing. They not only saw it, they remembered it, and told their story to a group of British pilots in the autumn of 1918. One of the Britishers, Lieutenant Phil B. Townsend, put it on record in writing.

What, then, was Billy Bishop — hero or fraud? Because the Allies desperately needed a hero at the time, it is possible that, for propaganda and recruiting purposes, he was built up (like American folk heroes) to be larger than life-size; but, in McCaffery's judgment, he deserved all the honours that were laid upon him, including the VC. He concludes: "He was a hero — of that there can be no doubt. An imperfect hero, but that only proves he was human".

Despite its less-than-scintillating prose, *Billy Bishop: Canadian Hero* is a book that holds reader attention. The quality of the prose only proves that an author, too, may be "only human"; but his detective work in tracking down facts and giving an objective, if sympathetic, treatment to a subject that sorely called for it is to be admired — a much-needed antidote to the hatchet-job done by the NFB.

Poet and literary critic Tom Saunders lives in Winnipeg. He served in the Canadian Army during the Second World War.

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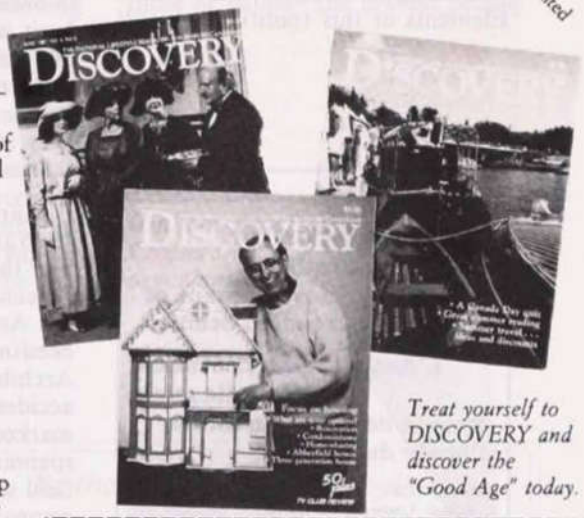

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A Clergyman Goes North

By Graham MacDonald

ECHOES FROM A FROZEN LAND
By Donald B. Marsh, Edited by Winifred Marsh. Edmonton, Hurtig, 1987. 187 pp., illus. $27.95.

One of the longstanding literary traditions in Canadian writing is that derived from the observations of church-sponsored field workers. Our knowledge of early Canadian conditions for example, would be greatly impoverished without the voluminous writings of the Jesuits. Elements of this tradition are still current, particularly in the form of the "memoir". Reading *Echoes from a Frozen Land* will impress upon the reader once again just how recently removed modern peoples are from landscapes and societies which for centuries experienced little contact with larger metropolitan centres. The author of this book was born in England in 1903 and took Anglican Church seminary training in Saskatoon in the 1920s. In 1926 he was sent to Eskimo Point in the District of Keewatin, some two hundred miles north of Churchill, in order to initiate a mission to the Inuit of that area, then known as the Caribou Eskimos. This group was very isolated and considered unique owing to their high dependency on migratory caribou rather than on the resources of the sea.

Marsh spent the years between 1926 and 1943 at Eskimo Point, and was then sent to Aklavik as archdeacon. In 1950 he became "Donald the Arctic", Anglican bishop, succeeding the first arctic bishop, Archibald Lang Fleming. Marsh's accidental death in England in 1974 marked the end of a long career spanning forty-seven years of active field service, most of it spent in the company of his wife, Winifred, editor of this volume, who joined him in 1933.

In imposing order on Donald Marsh's writings (which he had intended to do in retirement) the editor stresses their vignette-like quality. "There is no definite historical sequence" and instead they provide "a slice of that time period" between 1926 and 1943. The strengths of the book, then, derive from the author's description of day to day events, practices and pastimes, as he had directly experienced them. These descriptions have great value now, for they were made in the twilight of a long collective experience which was about to undergo a radical transformation.

There is little by way of formal anthropological theory informing Marsh's writings, and in this selection there is no mention made of the achievements of the Fifth Thule Expedition, some of whose members were in the Eskimo Point area just two years before his arrival. Scattered throughout the book, however, are many confirmations of observations made by others, particularly by Kaj Birket-Smith, the noted anthropologist and student of the Caribou Eskimos. Winifred Marsh draws some distinctions in her introduction about the origin of the name "Padlimiut", the Inuit designation for the people of the area. "Padlei" designates "willow", the great staple vegetation of the generally treeless barren grounds. The willow is a fundamental source of fuel wood and utility material for the people. Of five major sub-groups comprising the Padlimiut, only the coastal people and the Shownukromiut, (the "bone" people) demonstrated any regular connection with the sea and its resources. Even these two groups were highly dependent on the caribou.

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The coastal people would have been those first contacted by Marsh in 1926, and his task was to take the word inland from his base at Eskimo Point. What he learned in the process provides the main focus of this book. The topics covered are many, and range from general observations on the environment, shelter techniques, clothing manufacture, hunting skills, the relations between the sexes and child-rearing, socializing and games, and most interestingly from the standpoint of a churchman, religious beliefs and taboos. While Marsh did not approve of all he saw, there is a general mood of suspended judgement conveyed in the writings. The mission-favoured "soft-sell" of European practices was the only realistic approach, based on mutual trust. A fascinating example of this working out of differing views of what was appropriate comes in the description of traditional Padlimiut child-birthing practices. Winifred Marsh was a midwife by training (among other things) and played an important part in promoting European hygienic knowledge. In this crucial area, the missionaries waited to be asked for advice on the European way.

The elaborate system of taboos which were still current in these years provided another subject for comment. The Marshes had the great advantage of living with the people over a great many years, an opportunity given to few anthropologists; and hence the information recorded here has much credibility. The very conditions of daily life were such as to provide insights for the attentive observer, for there were few secrets in Inuit society. "Children hear everything in family life and in community life; a large igloo might hold three or four families without partitions, so that everything done and said, including all kinds of squabbles, is quite openly seen and shared by everyone". Donald Marsh spent hundreds of nights in the igloos and tents of his charges.

There is a bonus to all of these commentaries, which are genuinely interesting and unique, and that concerns Marsh as photographer. From the beginning he took camera equipment into the field (including moving image cameras) and regularly recorded the life around him. A valuable record has been made of the heritage of these people, who by the 1950s had been severely decimated by sickness and famine. The black and white images reproduced in this volume are outstanding, and are well selected in order to supplement relevant discussion in the text. Some of them, such as at page 41, seem to have provided models for the fine watercolours executed over the years by Winifred Marsh. (See her book, *People of the Willow*, Anglican Book Centre, 1983). Some of Marsh's photographs are in colour as well, and these appeared in a 1947 issue of *National Geographic* magazine. We are told that much of Marsh's photography is now in the National Archives of Canada, but the editor has been, perhaps, too modest in not telling us more about these photographic achievements or giving us a guide to Donald Marsh's other writings.

Because of the rapid development of the airplane and motor all-terrain vehicles after World War II, few of us now realize the remarkable conditions imposed on survival in the northern environment for most of human history. Marsh was not long in gaining such an appreciation from those he called "the bravest people on earth".

Graham MacDonald is with the Crocus Group, a heritage planning organization in Winnipeg.

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Dreaming of King Coal

THREE DOLLAR DREAMS
By Lynne Bowen. Oolichan Books, Lantzville, B.C., 1987. 408 pp., illus. $29.95.

By Trevor Lautens

It is not a pretty tale. This book is about the coal industry on Vancouver Island — first around Fort Rupert, at the northern end, where the Hudson's Bay Company briefly tried to make a go of it, but mostly around Nanaimo and Wellington — from 1848 to 1900. Dirty business, coal.

William Fraser Tolmie, an HBC official, heard a second-hand story in 1835 about Indian reports of coal near the present town of Port Hardy. This was a happy coincidence, more or less, with the Royal Navy's conversion from sail to steam in the 1840s, and also with the coal needs of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, whose owner, the New York businessman William Henry Aspinwall, won the American mail contract from the Isthmus of Panama to the Columbia River. The HBC arranged to provide coal for Aspinwall's paddle-wheelers under a one-year contract beginning in May 1849: a thousand tons at fifty shillings a ton. Until then Indians had cut the coal from the outcroppings — there is a record of their exchange of sixty tons for some blankets and tobacco in 1846 — but Sir George Simpson, governor of the HBC, knew that the Pacific Mail contract would require more sophisticated methods and experienced miners.

The first ones drawn by HBC advertisements in Britain were from Ayrshire. There was, however, a droll misunderstanding, infelicitously conveyed by the wording of the advertisements. Sir George wanted workers who knew how to sink new shafts. The applicants had no such experience; they had worked in established mines in Scotland. Contractual bickering, sullenness, complaints about accommodation, the rudeness of life in this astonishing place where the Indians greeted the first white woman with sixteen human heads on as many poles (and invited her to choose any two she liked) — all this and more characterized the endeavour from the start. And there was an unmistakable British Columbia stamp on it all: the first coal mine and the first coal miners' strike, on 26 April 1850, were not far short of being twins.

This book has been written under the auspices of the Coal Tyee Society, formed to preserve and publish the history of mining on Vancouver Island, and Lynne Bowen — author of a 1982 book, *Boss Whistle*, also supported by the society — strives to present the human dimension, the lives of individual miners and their families, fathers and sons and their sons moiling for coal. The problem with all this ordinariness is that any attempt to make the people "come alive" is doomed to thinness.

Thus we learn that miner George Baker was apt to break into song at a party, Matthew Miller played the 'cello, and Charles Beardmore was a tall, wiry man with red, curly hair; but the cast of characters is so large and so little is known about most of them that the casual reader is left thinking that the lives of great men all remind us that they were whatever else, great, and did enough things over enough time to give their biographers ample time to develop character and make narratives out of lives that were lived shapelessly.

Thus, even the treatment of such a big frog in the little Vancouver Island pond as Robert Dunsmuir seems episodic. The evidence suggests that his decision to emigrate was impulsive, the decision made about a week before departure. It proved a lucky dip indeed. Backed, almost stereotypically, by a formid-

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ably strong-willed wife baptized Joanna Oliver White, Dunsmuir went on to ring up a fortune in coal and real estate, dominate the island colony's politics, sire a son James who seems to have taken after his father except for the nice bits and who became a premier of the province of British Columbia, and, most visibly, built the faintly absurd dream home of all such *arrivistes,* a castle. This edifice, Craigdarroch, is properly sited in Victoria, a discreet distance away from where the money was made.

Not to be too critical. The Nanaimo-Wellington and Cumberland coal areas in the nineteenth century were no monument to man's esthetic sense. Nanaimo, the effective coal-country capital, was a mean town striving to be grander, and Dunsmuir wasn't the only one to have put distance between him and it when he could; the HBC had trouble right away with indentured employees speedily taking off for the waggling charms of San Francisco. Dust, danger, disaster marked the miners' lives, to say nothing of an almost pervasive community ill-temper brought on by living on the edge of explosions, periodic plummeting of coal prices, company pressure — whatever particular company — to lower wages and squeeze more profits from their hides; the book's title is derived from the miners' dream of earning three dollars a day.

Then there was the racial hostility, a constant but focus-shifting inheritance: the entrenched disliked newcomers who, once entrenched, disliked the next wave.

The first miners, the Indians, were succeeded by the Scots, Black Country Englishmen — whom the HBC attracted to its Fort Rupert area holdings in 1854; it sold all its coal holdings, both in the north Island and around Nanaimo, which included three shafts, pits, a couple of steam engines, a company store "full of overvalued merchandise", and a hundred houses, to the Vancouver Coal Mining and Land Company in 1861 — French-Canadians, Kanakas from Hawaii, and later Belgians, Frenchmen, Finns, Germans, and Italians.

But the really nasty racism involved the Chinese. When the first few arrived in 1865 an undermanager and later mine owner, John Bryden, innocently proved he was born at least 75 years too soon by paying them the same as whites were paid. He was properly put to straights, and subsequently white miners for a time hired Chinese miners at half their wage who could do twice their work. In 1877 the Coal Mines Regulation Act infamously prohibited Chinese from attending ventilation furnaces, and subsequent amendments — inspired partly by the unfounded myth that their work practices were unsafe — forbade them from working underground at all. Not surprisingly, it was the low-life white miner and his unions, including the Knights of Labour, who despised them, aided in part by an amiably racist press; it was the bottom-line capitalist mine-owners, notably Robert Dunsmuir, who backed them, fighting and often defying the legislation all the way. (Toward the unionists Dunsmuir was as unflaggingly hostile as he was, as a genuine up-from-the-ranks mining man himself, persuasively paternalistic toward the men). All of which only goes to prove the entertaining absurdity of putting yesterday on trial for not behaving like today.

Mrs. Bowen has amassed and transmitted a great deal of information but, alas, she writes so unswervingly that milestones are missing or confusing, great shifts are dropped into monotone sentences as casually as if they were asides, point is lost. Hard-headed readers with accountants' sharp pencils will deplore, in a book with scholarly overtones, the lack of actual figures on capitalization, profit-and-loss, and so on. There is at least one mystifying story, of the 1894 bombing of the home of a colliery assistant manager near Wellington. Now this looks like more riveting stuff. But a couple of pages on, teased by the tale of an eyewitness who tattled two years later, the reader learns that "four bombers were arrested" — but neither their names nor their fate. Oversight? Protection of the guilty? Deference to living descendants? Who knows?

Mrs. Bowen evidently enjoyed, in the form of the Coal Tyee Society, something many a writer would envy: a good friend. What she needed was one good enemy — a ruthless editor.

Trevor Lautens is an editor in Vancouver.

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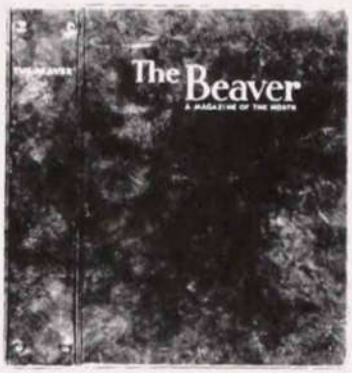

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Guenther Krueger: THE LEPERS OF BENTINCK

In 1913 when Abraham Bercovitch was thirty-seven years old he started developing sores on his feet that caused the skin to be rubbed off by his shoes. These lesions had a yellow discharge. After being treated with household remedies, they would heal forming a whitish or blueish scar. For the next eight years he developed about fifteen more of these scars. Some became hard nodules. When he developed one of the tubercles on one foot, another would develop in approximately the same place on the other foot in a symmetrical pattern. His hands also became affected. Finally, when lesions appeared on his face over the left eyebrow he sought medical treatment. In August of 1921 he consulted a doctor in Winnipeg who suggested syphilis as the cause. When there was no improvement he was taken to Dr. Gordon Bell in Winnipeg who made a definitive diagnosis of leprosy.

Bercovitch, an Orthodox Jew, was born in Odessa, Russia. He joined the army at eighteen, married at age twenty-eight, and came to Canada in 1905, at age twenty-nine. A dairyman by trade, he worked in Winnipeg. After his diagnosis, it was decided to send him to the William Head Quarantine Station near Victoria, B.C. His wife wished to stay with him, although as was pointed out by Dr. Rundle Nelson, the then Chief of Quarantine, "Should she herself contract the disease she would become a prisoner at the station." There was the added difficulty of transporting him to Victoria. The Canadian National required 25 first class fares, a total of $1,343.75, for one entire colonist car. Fifteen dollars for fumigation would be necessary as well.

Mr. and Mrs. Bercovitch did make the move, first to the Quarantine Station and later to Bentinck Island, near Metchosin on Vancouver Island. On the weekend of 11 February 1928 he developed a cold, but seemed better on Monday. But

A lonely grave on Bentinck Island.

he quickly became weaker again, having suffered chronic heart problems for some time. He died at 4:20 p.m. on 15 February. His body was returned to Winnipeg in a metal lined and sealed coffin.

Bercovitch was one of 22 people afflicted with leprosy who lived on Bentinck Island during its use as a leper colony from 1924 to 1957. The island is 112 acres in size, shaped like a clover-leaf, and is located 30 kilometres southwest of Victoria. It is so close to Vancouver Island that deer cross to it during low tide. But for the people who spent their remaining years there, it was as far away from civilization as the most remote outpost on earth.

As one of Canada's two leprosaria (the other located at Tracadie, New Brunswick), Bentinck Island was used to physically isolate those people who had contracted this fearsome disease. Leprosy is not found in Canada or Siberia, the only two geographical areas in the world to enjoy this distinction. All cases of leprosy were, and still are, contracted elsewhere. Most of the people with leprosy who ended up on Bentinck were Chinese.

Rural poverty and political upheavals caused Chinese emigration. The majority came from the Pearl River Delta of Guandong province, between Canton and Hong Kong. Those that came to Canada were subject to a "head" tax, introduced in 1884. At that time it was $100 but it was raised to $500 largely through the efforts of agitators in B.C. It was specifically designed to discourage immigration and did in fact reduce the numbers, if only temporarily. During World War I a total of 80,000 Chinese passed through William Head in batches of 8,000 to 10,000. In 1891, six cases of leprosy were found among those immigrants, prompting arrangement for incarceration by the Victoria Board of Health. It was decided to place them on D'Arcy Island, an 81 hectare island off Swartz Bay near Victoria. Although little is known about life on D'Arcy, early reports suggest that those who were detained there were all but ignored and left to fend for themselves. Conditions were harsh and a medical officer visited them only four times a year. In any case, there was no treatment at the time.

Opium was supplied in an effort to help these unfortunates through their miserable remaining years. In 1905 the provincial government supplied caretakers and medical help. Then, in 1906 the federal government assumed responsibility for the D'Arcy lazzaretto.

Meanwhile, a new Quarantine Station was opened at William Head. The original station located at nearby Albert Head was found inadequate shortly after its opening in 1883. The new station covered 106 acres and comprised 42 buildings. The hospital could accommodate 49 patients. As well, there were detention accommodations for up to one thousand people. In 1924 it was decided to move the six lepers from D'Arcy to Bentinck. New cottages were provided, as well as a resident nurse and the regular services of a doctor. By 1926 there were nine lepers, seven Chinese and two Russians. One of these was Abraham Bercovitch.

Leprosy is considered the least communicable of all the infectious diseases. Although the disease is transmitted by active skin lesions or the nasal discharge of infected persons, only susceptible people develop the disease. According to recent evidence most people have partial or complete resistance to leprosy. These facts were, of course, unknown at the beginning of the century. Leprosy, with its origins in antiquity, is perhaps the most frightening disease known to man. Leprosy probably originated in Egypt. Writings dating back four thousand years talk about an adhesive skin disease of catastrophic ferocity. By 1,000 B.C. it was endemic in all of Asia. However, it failed to gain a foothold in Europe and was unknown to the ancient Greeks. The introduction of the disease to Europe is generally attributed to Pompey the Great, whose legions acquired it in Asia Minor. They carried it back to Rome and from there to Spain, France, Germany and into Britain. The disease was known as "elphas". By this time the Greeks were also affected and they gave it its present name. The word leprosy derives from "lepros", an adjective meaning scaly. The causative organism, *mycobacterium leprae,* which is closely related to the tuberculosis bacillus, was discovered in 1871 by the Norwegian physician Gerhard Henrik Armatuer Hansen. Because of the tremendous stigma attached to the name of the disease, it is now sometimes referred to as Hansen's disease. The largest North American center for research into this disease is the Gillis W. Long Hansen's Disease Center in Carville, Louisiana. Current efforts to develop a vaccine to deal with the global problem of leprosy have been hampered by the fact that apart from man, the armadillo is the only other animal known to succumb to the disease. Armadillos are difficult to breed in captivity and their blood is needed to provide the necessary serum. Leprosy remains a serious international public health problem. Estimates of the total number affected in the world vary from 10 to 20 million.

Dr. Roy Jenkins was the head of the Quarantine Division at William Head and administrator of Bentinck Island. He was responsible for treating 21 patients during the period from 1939 to 1956. At that time, treatment consisted of injections of chaulmoogra oil. Dr. Jenkins is a lively 96-year old and he recalls that "We didn't anticipate much in the way of recovery with the medication. It was a hateful black dope that caused indigestion and all sorts of disturbances. It did no good at all and it really was a feeling of hopelessness we had when we went there". He describes Bentinck as a beautiful island. Each of the patients had his or her house and garden (there was one woman). According to Dr. Jenkins, "They cooked their own food, so long as they could see." Some of the patients became blind, a complication of the disease. Dr. Jenkins visited the patients regularly. Sometimes his wife would accompany him. He says, "At first she was afraid to put her hand on the rails on the gangway up the shore". But her fears dissipated and she got to know the patients.

Life on Bentinck was lonely. Isolation was complete. But the small group of patients, forced together because of circumstances, accepted their fate stoically. Although it is possible to see Victoria from the island, most people never left once they settled there. Public fear ensured that visitors would be few. Letters written by patients were fumigated for 12 hours before being mailed. The last three residents consisted of a woman who had contracted the disease doing missionary work in Africa, an older Chinese gentleman, and a much younger Japanese. In 1948 Cy Young, a journalist who wrote for *Maclean's,* spoke to this group. The woman said, "The disease itself is not so bad, nor is the isolation. It is being cast out that hurts. My friends have stood by me, but some acquaintances will not visit my family any longer because I am here. That hurts me very much".

Dr. Jenkins remembers the excitement caused by the introduction of newer drugs to treat the disease. In the late 1940s and 1950s

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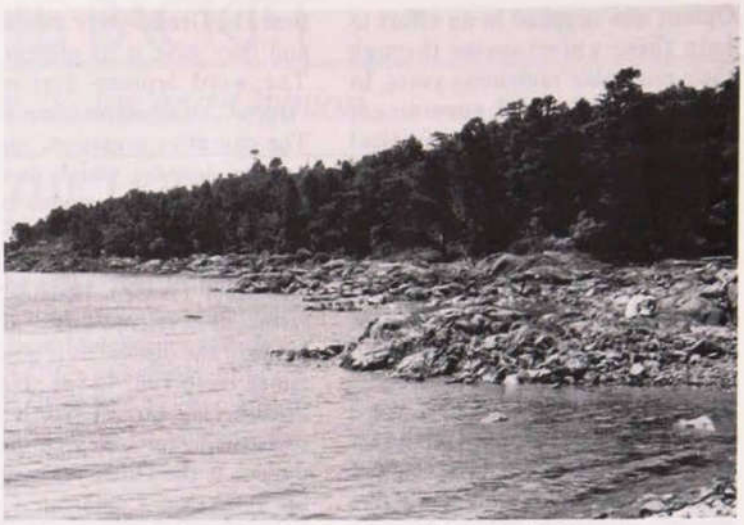
sulpha drugs and antibiotics were used with dramatic success.

Two Canadians who helped bring about changes in the treatment of leprosy were Frederick Montizambert (born in Quebec in 1843; died in Ottawa in 1929) and Armand Frappier (born in Quebec in 1904). Montizambert studied the use of chaulmoogra oil in the treatment of leprosy. For many of the people on Bentinck it was the only treatment available. Frappier encouraged the international study of leprosy at the Institut Armand-Frappier which he founded in 1938. Located in Montreal, Quebec, it remains one of the few laboratories engaged in this work.

The introduction of sulpha drugs marked the beginning of the end of quarantine for the prisoners on Bentinck. In 1954 two new lepers were treated on the island and then discharged within the year. From a maximum of eleven inhabitants in 1929, medical advances reduced this number to a single person by 1949. The last remaining Chinese man with leprosy died in 1956. Although he had been cured for some time, he had no desire to leave his home. He was buried along with twelve others in the small graveyard. Dr. Jenkins retired two years later and the resident nurse and the caretaker moved back to their homes on Vancouver Island.

The story of Bentinck encompasses many aspects of Canada's social history. The treatment of the Chinese, reactions to a frightening disease, and our occasional apathy towards our own history as a nation. D'Arcy Island is now a provincial park, although it is accessible only by boat. When Bentinck was officially closed on 31 March 1957, the government didn't know what to do with it. There was an attempt to lease it for $40 per month to any interested parties. There were no takers. The stigma of leprosy remained. It was decided to demolish most of the buildings. To date, only one original "leper hut" remains, as well as the nurse's home. The island is now used by the Department of National Defence as a demolition site. The island is generally off-limits and visitors will see numerous signs that say "Do not touch anything; it may explode and kill you!" The military takes care not to work in the area of the gravesites.



Lepers wandered the rugged coast of the island colony.

The graves are on the northeastern segment of the island. Although the military has erected white crosses, these are in poor repair and are toppling over. Additionally, a fence keeps out animals, but not weeds. The remains of Canada's lepers on Bentinck Island are as forgotten in death as they were feared in life.

Writer Guenther Krueger of Burnaby, British Columbia, has conducted extensive research into the treatment of lepers on Canada's West Coast.

A Regional Best-Seller

In a recent issue of your journal, J. M. Bumsted reviewed one of our recent publications, Jeff LaLande's study of Peter Skene Ogden's travels throughout the Oregon-California borderlands, *First Over the Siskiyous*.

In that review, Bumsted suggests more than once that there is likely to be little interest in such a study, the accurate establishment of Ogden's actual route through the area.

This letter is a mild protest of the reviewer's view, to be able to suggest that he knows what is of interest or not.

We have not been surprised at the ability of *First Over the Siskiyous* to sell, for two-thirds of the original run has been sold, and consistent, continued re-orders are received each week. It has proved to be a regional best-seller in the southern Oregon area — the area of Ogden's trek.

The Oregon Historical Society Press will be making a reprint decision this year, based on the excellent response to and sales of LaLande's fine study.

Bruce Taylor Hamilton,
Assistant Director,
Publications,
Oregon Historical Society,
Portland, Oregon.

Spanish Lady

I read with great interest the article on the 1918-19 Spanish Influenza epidemic in British Columbia, written by the Belyks of Port Coquitlam, B.C., [*The Beaver*, October-November 1988]. An accurate accounting of the final death toll may never be arrived at, but it is worth noting that the city of Vancouver alone registered 981 deaths. (This according to *The Sun*, 3 January 1984.)

Coincidental to reading the Belyk article, I was reviewing the military service file of Private Joseph Evans, a Kamloops butcher who, being unfit, never went overseas. He was admitted to the military hospital at Coquitlam, B.C. on 13 October 1918, and his fate is recorded simply: "Died 1:55 a.m. October 22. Epidemic influenza of rather severe type, complicated by severe broncho pneumonia — treatment symptomatic."

The Belyks point out that troop movements back and forth along the CPR mainline contributed to the spreading of the epidemic. I would wager that there were concerted attempts made by the military authorities to downplay the seriousness of the epidemic among the troops. Should Pvt. Evans, who died in 1918, be counted as one of Canada's war dead?

Could that particular strain of flu known as the "Spanish Lady" ever return? Apparently the World Influenza Centre in London has never succeeded in identifying which, of over 1,000 different strains caused the pandemic. Some researchers in Alaska in the 1950s took tissue samples from victims buried in frozen tundra in 1918, but the lung material failed to give up its secrets.

Ronald Jack,
Military Archives
and Record Service,
Hinton, Alberta.

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Read these and other fascinating articles and reviews in the August/September issue of **The Beaver.**

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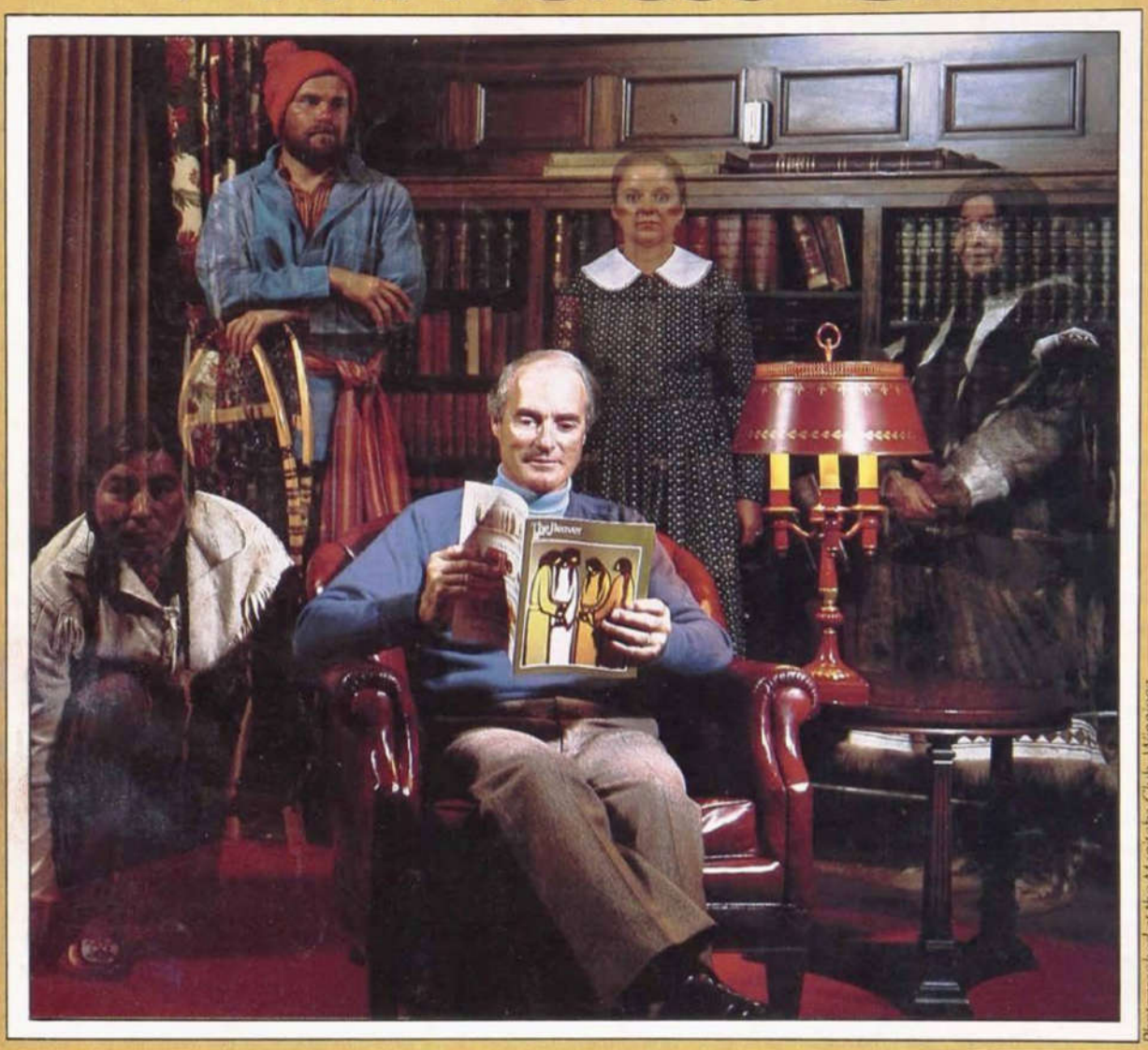

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